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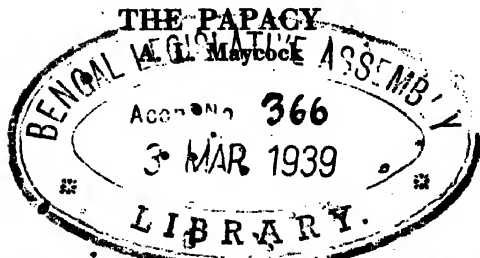
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A HISTORY OF EUROPE, 476-1925

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A HISTORY OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THE study of history makes people conscious of the past. The existence of mankind is not a thing only of the present; it is a continuous, throbbing stream of life from unknown ages, becoming vivid and known for some thousands of years. To study this living past is to expand one's sense of existence and to share in the life of all the ages.

Progress has not been continuous in human history. The ancient world, the Mediterranean civilisation of Greece and Rome, was a far higher thing than the "Gothic" social systems which overcame it in the fifth century. In philosophy, in literature, in the art of building and of sculpture, in economic organisation, Europe under the Roman Empire was immeasurably superior to the Europe of the Dark Ages with its ceaseless war, its stunted intellectual outlook, its literary and artistic sterility. The historian Gibbon, in his majestic history of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, has dwelt lovingly on the Age of the Antonine Emperors as perhaps the happiest in the whole life of the human race. Then was Europe, within the boundaries of the Empire, at peace; mag-

nificent high-roads, policed by the Roman Army, provided free communication from Cadiz to Constantinople, from Boulogne to Brindisi. The now desolate valleys of Asia Minor were tilled and productive; Egypt was an opulent granary and a sphere of literary activity and scholarship; the still splendid Roman buildings of North Africa, although in ruin, testify to the once high civilisation of that sunny land. The *bourgeoisie*, the most intelligent, the most enterprising, the most stable element in modern society, which almost disappeared during the Dark Ages, flourished in the best period of the Roman Empire.

“The material splendour and municipal life of the Antonine age are externally its greatest glory. It was pre-eminently a sociable age, an age of cities. From the Wall of Hadrian to the edge of the Sahara towns sprang up everywhere with as yet a free civic life. It was an age of civic engineers and architects, who turned villages into cities and built cities in the desert, adorned with temples and stately arches and basilicas, and feeding their fountains from the springs of distant hills. The rich were powerful and popular; and never had they to pay so heavily for popularity and power. The cost of civic feasts and games, of forums and temples and theatres, was won by flattery, or extorted by an inexorable force of public opinion from their coffers. The poor were feasted and amused by their social superiors who received a deference and adulation expressed in hundreds of inscriptions (Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 4).

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This passage emphasises the splendour and orderliness of the Roman Empire along with the internal weakness which ultimately destroyed it. Yet for centuries after the end of the Antonine rulers the Roman Empire still continued to be powerful and splendid. In A.D. 212 all the people, of whatever race, who were not slaves were made full citizens. Henceforth there was a known and equal law administered in the whole Imperial area, the Roman Civil Law. Commerce flourished, both because of the wonderful road system, but also because trade was free, throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Fleets patrolled the coasts and seas to prevent piracy. A great wall, perpetually garrisoned, guarded the extreme northern province of Britain; another wall or continuous mound, the *Limes*, protected the eastern frontier from the Rhine to the Danube. The peoples who lived within the ring fence of this enormous Empire had vernacular languages of their own, but also they learned in schools and colleges the common tongue of Latin. A military postal system conveyed letters between every point under Roman rule, so that a father in York could correspond regularly with his son who might be serving in a legion near Carthage or studying in the university at Athens. University life was a highly prized feature of ancient civilisation. At well-known centres of learning—at Athens, Alexandria, Rome, Padua, Lyons—unofficial but highly organised bodies of scholars lectured, argued, discussed, and thus trained students who in turn became professors or who passed into the magistracy, the bar, the medical profession, or merely became cultured gentlemen living in their country villas, reading in their well-stocked libraries, and

administering their estates. In the year 325 Christianity was officially recognised by the Emperor. Constantine himself presided at the great Church Council of Nicea in this year.

Causes of decline which had been slowly at work for many years became glaring and powerful in the fifth century. Farming, the basis of all economic life, was steadily, hopelessly decaying. Large villa-estates covered the land, cultivated, not indeed by slaves, but by *coloni*, free men who had, out of poverty, bound themselves to the soil, serfs in the service of a master. The free peasant, the small farmer, could not maintain himself. The great villa-farms did not justify themselves by productiveness. Tracts of uncultivated, weedy fields were common. The industrial classes were in better condition, but the impoverishment of the countryside made it hard for the manufacturers to sell all their products. The professional families were overwhelmed by the high taxes which the vast bureaucracy of the government found it necessary to impose on the most prudent and thrifty elements of the population. And all this time, on the frontiers, surging masses of Barbarians were thrusting at the guards, and at some points had penetrated the defences.

Yet in the last fifty years of the Western Empire, before the dams gave way and the great flood of Barbarism came in, a tranquil and cultured life was still to be found in the Roman provinces. The Letters of Apollinaris Sidonius give a beautiful and varied picture of this twilight of the Empire. Apollinaris Sidonius was a Gallo-Roman noble, born at Lyons in the year 431. He came of a distinguished official family; his father-in-law was Avitus, one of the last

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Emperors. He himself, after being educated at the University of Lyons, rose to be Prefect of Rome. About five years before the fall of the Empire he became Bishop of Auvergne, and spent fifteen years in his diocese, ministering to his people, and corresponding with his friends. In his lonely villa of Avitacum near Narbonne, Sidonius entertained men of letters, studied and wrote in his library, finding time nevertheless to relieve the poor, to hear complaints, to conduct divine service. He brought up his son—for he was a married clergyman, as was quite normal in those days—"with the help of Christ," to carry on the tradition of the family in public service. Amid an almost universal decay of public spirit the life and work of the great Gallo-Roman noble shone forth, a beacon in the coming darkness.

CHAPTER II

THE BARBARIANS

THE last ruler of the undivided Roman Empire was Theodosius the Great, a native of the Spanish province, a strong and, as a rule, just man, the friend of St. Ambrose of Milan. Theodosius died in 395, and his two sons divided the Empire, the elder, Arcadius, taking the eastern portion with its capital, Constantinople; the younger brother, Honorius, had the "Eternal City" of Rome. Already hordes of Barbarians, spasmodically surging westwards out of the steppes of Russia, were breaking into the Imperial frontiers; but the strong barrier of the Balkan mountains made the

resistance of the Eastern Empire more effective. Instinctively drawing away from the formidable Balkan barrier, the Barbarians tended to pass by the Eastern Empire and to concentrate their efforts on attempts to penetrate the Western. The rulers of the Western Empire, in the general decay of public spirit, were forced to recruit Barbarians into the Imperial legions for defence against the Barbarian hordes themselves. The last Emperor of the West was a youth Romulus, nicknamed "the little Augustus," the son of a wealthy and capable Roman noble called Orestes, who ruled in his son's name. In 476 one of the mercenary captains in the Roman service, a Barbarian (Scirian) named Odoacer, took advantage of discontent in the legions to overthrow and kill Orestes, and to seize the administrative authority for Italy. Romulus Augustulus escaped the fate which met nearly every other deposed monarch in the next thousand years—his life was spared, and he ended his days peacefully on his opulent villa-estate near Naples.

Among the many barbarous tribes and peoples who came against the Roman Empire in the fifth century were the Goths, whose original home seems to have been the southern coast and islands of the Baltic; the Vandals, who first appear in history in the country between the Vistula and the Oder; the Franks, who inhabited the country along the middle and lower Rhine; the Lombards, who came out of the country of the Lower Elbe; and the Huns, who came out of Turkestan and through the Volga region. All these were of Teutonic race except the Huns, who were of Turkish stock. As early as the year 400 the Goths, under Alaric, caused immense losses both to the

Eastern and the Western Roman Empires; and it was in order that resources might be concentrated against this conqueror that the British province was abandoned by the Roman legions in 410. The Huns, under Attila, devastated many regions of the Western Empire until Aetius, Roman Governor of Gaul and his ally, Theodoric the Visigoth, routed his army with terrific slaughter at Chalons in 451. By the time that the Western Empire fell in 476 the West (or Visi) Goths had established themselves in Spain; the Vandals in North Africa; the East (or Ostro) Goths in Italy, to be followed in the sixth century by the Lombards; and the Franks in Gaul.

Odoacer, the Scirian mercenary who had stormed Rome in 476 and had deposed Romulus Augustulus, ruled Italy with the title of Patrician. He acknowledged the imperial authority of the Eastern (Byzantine) Emperor Zeno, and fixed his capital, not in Rome, but at Ravenna. He proved to be a wise and tolerant ruler, and therefore attracted the jealousy of Zeno, who urged Theodoric, chief of the Ostrogoths, to overthrow him. Theodoric captured Ravenna in 493 and killed Odoacer. The great Barbarian ruled Italy for the next thirty-three years with unwearied care and humanity, as may be gathered from the now famous collection, the *Letters of Cassiodorus*, his Roman secretary. Theodoric died in 526. Thereafter Italy had no general peace for over two hundred years. In 535 the Byzantine Emperor Justinian sent his General, Belisarius, who had already overthrown the Vandal kingdom in North Africa, to destroy the Ostrogothic power in Italy. Belisarius fought two long wars in Italy, but the conquest of the Ostrogoths was

only achieved in 552 by his successor, an aged eunuch called Narses. After the terrific defeat of Taginæ the Ostrogothic power and nation disappear from Italy. The Byzantine Empire, thus restored to power in Italy, held it only for the rest of Justinian's life. This great builder and lawgiver died in 565.

Italy was invaded by Lombards from the Danube regions. The Lombard power, at first centred at Pavia, soon broke up in Italy into various principalities; thus Rome was able to exist under the control of its bishops or Popes, of whom the highest genius was Gregory the Great. He defined the ritual of the universal church and gave it something like a uniform organisation throughout Western Europe. The mission of St. Augustine, which converted England from Paganism in 597, was sent by Pope Gregory. He died in 604.

In Gaul the Franks, under Clovis, founded a strong state before the end of the fifth century. The Franks formed a loose confederacy of tribes in the region between the Weser and the Rhine before they broke into Gaul. During the period of invasion and settlement of the Franks in Gaul, in the fifth century, a great family of Gallo-Roman noblemen, the Syagrii, kept their large estates in the valley of the Seine and administered the country in the name of Imperial Rome. One of the greatest of these Gallo-Roman country-gentry was Ægidius, who was at last overthrown in 463 by Childeric, the chief of the Merovingian Franks. Syagrius, the son of the great Ægidius, maintained an independent and cultured Gallo-Roman social system on his estates at Soissons until Clovis, the son of Childeric, defeated him at Nogent, near Soissons, in 486. Syagrius was made prisoner and

executed. The rude Franks gradually conquered all Gaul, and Roman civilisation largely disappeared, just as it disappeared in the century of Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain after 449. Clovis, who had married a Frankish (Burgundian) Christian princess, was baptised by Remigius (St. Rémy), Bishop of Rheims, in 496, and soon all France became Christian. The Franks blended with the Gallo-Roman population, learned its language, and gave to the country the common name of France. Clovis fixed his residence at Paris, which a Gallo-Roman lady, Geneviève, had made famous by her piety and charitable works. He died in 511. The powerful, rough Frank, with the fierce expression and the yellow hair, figures in the modern paintings of the walls of the Panthéon along with the sweet-faced Geneviève, who sits in the moonlight by her church on the high ground above Paris, looking down on the sleeping city.

A priceless description and history of early France, of Frankish Gaul, has come down to us in the work of Gregory of Tours. This man was a native of Auvergne, of a noble and rich family of Gallo-Roman counts and bishops, like the family of Sidonius Apollinaris and the Syagrii. He was educated by his uncle, Gallus, Bishop of Clermont, and grew up in the dark and stormy times when the family of Clovis fought and struggled for dominion. Gregory, who was born in 539, became Bishop of Tours in 573, and died there in 594. His *History of the Franks* is the sincere chronicle of those turbulent times and people as the bishop saw or heard of them, when there were few or no records of any kind. The decline of culture caused by the Frankish invasions and settlement is

proved by the bad grammar, the unclassical expressions, the "rustic style" with which Gregory wrote, and which he himself humbly acknowledged. Convulsions of Nature, the horrors of pestilence and famine, the slaughter of war—these are common subjects of the *History of the Franks*, a long record of public miseries which the compassionate bishop, by a life of unwearied activity, laboured steadfastly to assuage.

CHAPTER III

CHARLES THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

ITALY remained in division, partly under the rule of Lombard and other princes of Barbarian stock, partly under the Pope of Rome, and theoretically all in allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor at Constantinople, until Charlemagne destroyed the Lombard kingdom in the year 774. Spain remained under the Visigoths until 711, when Tarik the Moor, having crossed the Strait of Gibraltar (Gebel el-Tarik), destroyed the Visigothic army and killed Roderick, the last Visigothic king, at the Battle of Guadalete. Germany remained for the most part pagan, and divided into large tribal regions under many chiefs.

In France the kings of the Frankish House of Clovis had little real power. The historian Einhard thus describes them.

"The family of the Merovings, out of which the French were in the habit of making kings for themselves, is considered to have lasted unto King Childeric, who, by the order of Stephen the Roman Pontiff, was deposed and shaven and thrust into a monastery. This family, although it can be seen to have finished with Childeric, nevertheless for a long time had been of no strength, nor had shown any distinction in itself except the empty name of king. For both the wealth and power of the kingdom were held by the prefects of the palace, who were called Mayors of the Household, and to whom the supremacy of rule pertained. Nor was there left to the king anything else than that, content with the royal name only, he should sit on the throne with long hair and flowing beard, and feign the appearance of ruling, and should hear envoys coming from all sides, and as if of his own authority, when they were going away, to give them answers which he had been taught or even commanded to give; when, except the useless name of king and a precarious stipend for living, which the prefect of the palace gave as he thought fit, he had nothing of his own but one estate and that of tiny revenue, in which he had his home and from which he maintained the small number of servants who ministered to his necessities and made show of obedience. Wherever he had to go, he went in a cart which was drawn by yoked oxen and driven in rustic manner by a herdsman. Thus he was accustomed to go to the palace, thus to the public assembly

of his people which annually was convened for the good of the kingdom, thus he returned home.

But the prefect of the palace took care of the administration of the kingdom, and of all things which had to be done or disposed either at home or abroad" (Einhard, *Vita Caroli Magni*, chap. i.).

The family of powerful Mayors (or Prefects) of the Palace who governed the kingdom of the Franks for these shadowy Merovings, these *rois fainéants*, who reigned but did not rule, was the Carolingian house, founded by Pepin of Heristal (a grandson of a Bishop of Metz). He became Mayor of the Palace to the Merovingian King Childeric II. about 687. Pepin's son was Charles Martel, on whom fell the weight of a great invasion of the Saracens from Spain. Charles Martel saved France and possibly all continental Europe from coming, like Spain, under Islam; in 732 he won the great Battle of Tours and scattered the invaders. The son of Charles Martel was Pepin the Great, small, valiant, and prudent. He put an end to the empty show of Merovingian monarchy by deposing Childeric III. (the king described in chapter one of Einhard) in 751, allowing him charitably to retire in safety to a monastery. Pepin's son was Charlemagne, Charles the Great.

This giant among monarchs could do everything. He pulled together the disintegrating fragments of France; he created an administrative system, under which every district had its duke or count (*dux* or *comes*), inspected periodically by *missi dominici*, by officers of the central government. He revived learning, created a school in his household at Aix-la-

Chapelle, gathered scholars there, collected books, and encouraged them to carry out the reform of handwriting, which made learning and reading again possible after the debasement of the Dark Ages. Although Charlemagne probably could not write himself, he insisted on good writing by his chaplains and learned clerks. The result is the beautiful Caroline "minuscule." Writing became an art so pleasant that monks everywhere took to copying the old manuscripts in their libraries, and thus preserved many works which were perishing of damp and disuse. Nearly all the manuscripts from which the texts of the printed classics are now taken are manuscripts of the age of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne brought order into regions far beyond the old frontier of France. He conquered a large part of Germany and converted the heathen Saxons; he gained a large portion of Eastern Spain from the Moors; he went down into Italy and made peace among the princes of that distracted country. On Christmas Day, 800, Leo III. crowned him Emperor at Rome. The iron age—for a time, at least—had ended, and the Roman Empire, with its common law and peace, was revived in the person of the great Frank. Charlemagne died in 814 in the seventy-second year of his age, having accomplished a mighty work for the sorrowful peoples of the "iron age."

There were two processes under which the Empire of the later Carolings shrank: the first was Division, the second was Feudalisation. The Empire of Charlemagne was frequently divided. It was out of these divisions that the great states of Western Europe arose. In 817, Lewis the Pious divided the Empire of

his father Charlemagne among his sons. Another rearrangement and division was carried out by Charles the Bald at Verdun in 843; three countries emerged—France, Germany, and (between these two) Lotharingia. The Empire was temporarily reunited under Charles the Fat, but redivided again after his death (which had been preceded by deposition) on January 13, 888. As the result of these divisions, the various parts of the Empire became separate political units, according to the degree of geographical and political significance which each part possessed. The eastern portion went to the illegitimate Prince Arnulf, and became in time the Empire of Germany. The lordship of the southern portion of Charles the Fat's dominions, known as Italy, was disputed by resident nobles, till the German, Otto I., obtained it in 962. Lorraine (Lotharingia) became a duchy, of which the sovereignty was disputed by France and Germany. The remaining portion of the Carolingian Empire was the land of the Western Franks, or France, a country which geographically tended to be one, although internally it had not much real political unity.

This large country of France could not be wholly under any one prince at that time because the process of feudalisation neutralised all efforts at centralisation. For with the break-up of Charlemagne's Empire, the dukes and counts and vicars, whose tenure of local government was supposed only to be for life, established themselves with their families as territorial nobles. Thus arose in France, as elsewhere in other parts of the former Empire of Charlemagne, great local seigneuries, subdivided again into smaller lord-

ships, only very loosely dependent on the central authority of the whole country. Of great seigneuries France had seven: the County of Flanders, the Duchy of Brittany, the Duchy of "France" (the country around Paris), the Duchies of Burgundy, Aquitaine (Guienne), and Gascony, the County of Toulouse. The Spanish March, most of which lay on the west side of the Pyrenees, did not long remain an integral portion of France, although nominally included in it, at the division of 888. • Early in the century following the death of Charles the Fat, other fiefs, such as Normandy, Anjou, Champagne, were cut off from the old provinces, and under their own dukes or counts exercised considerable influence on French history.

The last Carolingians were thus faced with great disadvantages in their efforts to maintain their authority and dignity in France. The process of feudalism was steadily cutting away their power, already much attenuated by the Partitions of the ninth century. Nevertheless, the last Carolingians, although ultimately pressed out in the struggle for existence, showed themselves in no way effete or degenerate. They were throughout tenacious of their rights, and to the end made an excellent fight for them. When the young King, Louis V., died in 987 an assembly of civil and ecclesiastical magnates was assembled at Senlis and elected, on the proposal of Archbishop Adalberon of Rheims, Hugh Capet, Duke of France (or Paris); the House of Capet thus was to the Carolings what the House of Charles Martel had been to the Merovingians. But this was the last revolution in France for over nine hundred years, for the House of Capet reigned unchallenged until 1792. • • • •

CHAPTER IV

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

THE illegitimate branch of the House of Charlemagne died out in Germany early in the tenth century. In 919, German feudal dukes assembled at Fritzlar elected Henry the Fowler, Duke of Saxony, to be their king. This man, whose outlook was purely national, valiantly defended the country against the Huns, but had no ambitions outside Germany. His son, Otto I., a man of strong personality, descended into Italy like another Charlemagne in 962, to make peace among the warring feudal lords there. On February 2 he was crowned Emperor at Rome by Pope John XII.

Thus was founded the Third Empire. The first was that of ancient Rome, which endured from the assumption of the "imperium" by Augustus in 31 B.C. to the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in A.D. 476. The second lasted from the coronation of Charles the Great in 800 to the death of Charles the Fat in 888. The third, called the Holy Roman Empire, endured from the coronation of Otto I. in 962 until Francis of Austria declared its dissolution in 1806.

During its long life of nearly eight hundred and fifty years the Holy Roman Empire, though for the most part little more than a shadow, was a shadow with a deep meaning. It represented the idea—without the fact—of European unity. In France, throughout the Middle Ages, the Crown was gradually being more and more solidly established as supreme over the feudal dukes and counts. In England, where the Anglo-Saxons had conquered the Romano-Britons in

the fifth century, and where the Normans conquered the Anglo-Saxons in the eleventh, another centralised kingdom was established, equal in power with France. In Spain the feudal Christian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon maintained unceasing crusade against the Moors. Constantinople, with the Balkan lands and Asia Minor, was under the Eastern Empire, which lasted from the time when it became separated from the Western (in A.D. 395) until destroyed by the Turks in 1453. Poland and Russia were under native dynasties. Nevertheless, in spite of all divisions, the peoples of Central and Western Europe retained, in the continuous existence of the Papacy and Empire, the idea of European unity. Spiritual head and temporal head, each supreme in its own sphere, each respecting the independence of the other—such was the ideal of the ordinary man, which found expression in Dante's noble treatise, *De Monarchia* (about 1312), concerning the monarchy of the Christian world. But the Papacy and Empire quarrelled, and the dual lordship of the world was dissipated into anarchy.

The peoples of the Middle Ages were illiterate and superstitious. In the monasteries which began with the foundations of Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century, and in the universities which grew up at Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and elsewhere in the thirteenth, some literary works of merit were produced. But books could only circulate in manuscript and readers were few. The Catholic Church was hostile to the spirit of inquiry. Even physical communication, in the universal decay of the Roman road system was impossible for all but a few people. Thus the conditions necessary for progress to a higher civilisation were

wanting; and these conditions were made worse by the long death-struggle between Empire and Papacy.

For nearly one hundred years after the institution or restoration of the Empire by Otto I. the relations of Church and Empire remained smooth. But during this time the moral condition of the Popes was, with some notable exceptions, low. A number of Popes were chosen in succession out of the family of the Counts of Tusculum; and the Lordship of the Holy See was enjoyed like a temporal crown. Outside Rome also the Church was becoming worldly; bishops and abbots were appointed for temporal not for spiritual reasons by the local sovereigns; many priests were married. Only in one corner of Europe did the pure light of an undefiled faith seem to shine forth clearly, and the asceticism of the monastic ideal to be strictly maintained. This was in the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy. Here the strictest form of Benedictine rule was observed. From this famous religious house monks went out to spread reform in Western and Central Europe, so that by the middle of the eleventh century a striking religious revival was in progress. The leader of this reform movement was the monk Hildebrand, who became a cardinal-deacon at Rome. In 1059, under Hildebrand's inspiration, Pope Nicholas II. issued an epoch-making decree, placing the right of electing a Pope in the hands of the cardinals, and thus depriving the Emperor of control over the appointment. In 1073 Hildebrand himself became Pope, taking the title of Gregory VII. He at once had decrees issued, forbidding marriage of the clergy and lay-investiture. Many of the clergy, especially in Germany, were married, and so resisted these decrees. The Emperor,

who had been accustomed to appointing bishops and abbots and investing them with their insignia of office, also strongly opposed the Hildebrandine reforms. A long and sanguinary civil war broke out in Germany between the supporters of the Pope and of the Emperor. On the whole the Papalists gained the best of it, and in January, 1077, the Emperor Henry IV. had to humble himself in person, by standing in the snow before the castle of Canossa in the Apennines, asking for absolution from the Pope. This, perhaps the most famous scene in the Middle Ages, caused only a temporary lull in the struggle. In England a similar quarrel, though not fought out with warlike arms, took place between King Henry I. and Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury. Here, however, lay-investiture was ended by the Concordat of Bec in 1107. Bishops and abbots were to be freely elected by their chapters, but in the presence of the King; and after election they were to do homage to the King for their feudal estates. A similar compromise was reached between Church and State in Germany in 1122 by the Concordat of Worms, negotiated by the Emperor Henry V. and Pope Calixtus II.

Yet the mutual antagonism between Papacy and Empire scarcely ceased. In the latter half of the twelfth century the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who regained much of the lost Imperial power in Italy, was involved in actual war with Pope Alexander III. The free cities or communes of the Lombard plain supported the Pope; and on the field of Legnago in 1176 the cities put the German knights to flight. But under Barbarossa's grandson, Frederick II., who besides being Emperor was (through his mother) King of

Sicily, the struggle was renewed. Frederick began as the ward of the greatest of the medieval Popes, Innocent III., who extended and consolidated, if he did not establish, the Papal State in Italy. After the death of Innocent III. in 1216 the Emperor Frederick struggled intermittently with successive Popes and with the league of Lombard communes until he died suddenly at Fiorentino in the year 1250.

With the death of this remarkable man, who was called *stupor mundi*, the wonder of the world—poet, scientist, warrior, statesman—the Empire relapsed into chaos, until it emerged in 1273 as a purely German Empire with the election of Rudolf of Habsburg. The Church had triumphed and ensured its independence; yet the Papacy seemed to have lost its moral force in the struggle. In the next three centuries it declined until the upheaval of the Reformation.

CHAPTER V

THE CRUSADES

THE peoples of the Middle Ages, torn with war and benighted with superstition, had yet a unique capacity for idealism. Out of their sordid conditions arose the beautiful lives of saints; and religious orders, like the Friars who followed Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) preserved, at any rate for a time, something of the moral force and purity of the saints' lives. And although it

was held that the truly religious life could only be pursued in the priesthood or the monastery, the "Ages of Faith," as the Middle Ages are sometimes called, could cast a glamour over worldly things and could ennoble the military life. From this idealism came Chivalry, the spiritual kinship of all true knights, and their obligation to use their sword in the cause of justice, mercy, and of God. The Crusades were the most powerful expression of this view of the military life.

Mohammed, the camel-driver, had, about 622, the year of the Hejira—the prophet's flight from Mecca to Medina—preached a new religion which spread over large portions of the East. Under the impulse of this belief—that there is one God, Allah, and that Mohammed is his prophet—the Arabs ravaged with the sword the lands of the Near East and North Africa. Before many years were over they had conquered Syria and Palestine. Christian pilgrims could still come to Jerusalem, but in the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks, who had occupied Palestine, stopped this, too. The Holy Land was completely under Islam.

Suddenly, in 1095, a wave of religious passion swept over Europe. Pope Urban II. felt the inspiration of the movement, and went to Clermont in France and preached a Crusade. People took fire, shouted "God wills it!"—*Deus le volt*—and organised themselves under chosen leaders for the march. The crusading movement was like a flowing-back of the West against the East, a reply to the incursions from the East which had destroyed the Roman Empire in the fifth century. But instead of pagan hordes, who destroyed wherever they went, it was an army of Christian knights and

their followers, who went to make a new Jerusalem, a "Latin Kingdom" in Palestine.

The First Crusade was the most magnificent piece of self-organisation that the world has ever seen. With no king or great state to make regulations and find funds, men from France, Germany, and Italy arranged themselves under Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Bohemond of Sicily; they transported themselves to the Holy Land; and they marched to Jerusalem and captured it from the Turks in 1099.

The "Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," which was the result of the First Crusade, embraced the whole of Palestine and Syria, and was the unique experiment of the Middle Ages in colonisation outside Europe. It was a kingdom of the regular feudal type, the land being held by barons on condition of military service, and being cultivated, like the English or French manors, by "villeins" bound to the soil. The villeins of the manors of the Latin Kingdom were native Syrians. In the towns on the coast—Acre, Beyrout, Antioch—there was a small but thriving burgher class which carried on a busy maritime trade with Europe. Such of the original Crusaders as survived the expedition and wished to settle down in the kingdom took up land and built a castle, and administered an estate, in much the same way as the Normans did in England after 1066. But families died out quickly under the strain of warfare, which never stopped, against the Infidel, and in a climate for which medieval sanitation was not suited. A continual flow of fresh Crusaders was required; and for two hundred years anyone who desired to serve God and to keep his sword bright

was expected to enter upon the *via crucis*, to take his turn on the Way of the Cross. The well-known Crusades were merely the high waves of this never ceasing stream of men flowing towards the Holy Land. To help to maintain this stream, which was never big or strong enough for the needs of the hard-pressed Latin Kingdom, two Military Orders, the Templars and Hospitallers arose, celibate knights (occasionally married men were admitted), dedicated to continual service against the Infidel.

No other Crusade ever matched the success of the First. The Second, which was led in 1147 by the Emperor Conrad II. and Louis VII. of France, was a wretched failure; it wasted itself on an unsuccessful siege of Damascus. In 1187 the Emir of Damascus, the heroic Kurd Saladin, captured Jerusalem; the Latin Kingdom was reduced to some of the coast-towns, which command of the sea still ensured to it. In 1190 the Kings Richard I. of England and Philip II. (Augustus) of France led a great crusading expedition to the Holy Land, recaptured Acre, but failed, in the face of Saladin's resistance, to advance to Jerusalem. The Fourth Crusade, 1204, shows the decline of this once pure movement. It left the Way of the Cross and used its resources in assaulting Constantinople, which it captured and sacked. The Eastern Empire was displaced for some fifty-seven years by a Latin Empire of Constantinople under the family of Baldwin of Flanders; but in 1271 Michael Palæologus upset this strange Frankish Empire, which vanished from Thrace and from Greece, leaving nothing behind it but hatred of the name of Frank.

Louis IX., the saintly King of France, one of the

meekest and most heroic characters of the Middle Ages, led two Crusades, in 1248 and in 1270. On the first occasion he was six years away from home, chiefly in Egypt, and for a time was prisoner with the Infidel. On his last Crusade, which he led to Tunis, he died.

The men of the Latin Kingdom were now holding on with difficulty to their last great stronghold, Acre. In 1272 Edward of England was fighting around Acre; on the way home he heard that his father, Henry III., had died. Within twenty years the Franks had all left the Holy Land, and only the fortresses held by the Knights of St. John (the Hospitallers) in Rhodes and later in Malta remained to continue when the Ages of Faith were passed the noblest effort of international co-operation that the world has yet seen.

CHAPTER VI

THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

THE twenty or more years after the death of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250 resemble to some extent the dreary period after the death of Charlemagne in 814. The "universal" monarchy of Western or Central Europe had disappeared; even the name of Emperor was gone. The political situation was complicated by the rise of local dynasties—an exaggeration of the feudalism which had been growing in the last four hundred years.

Feudalism, or the "feudal system," as it is sometimes called, was the mass of legal obligations under which land was held in Western Europe and indeed in other parts of the world. Among the Germanic tribes which overran the Roman Empire land was occupied and settled either by individual householders and their families, or by a village as a whole. Probably the land was regarded as the common property of the whole tribe or, at least, of the village, but in practice it was held in severalty by individual occupiers or families. In process of time, however, every individual became either the dependent of some local lord, or a lord over some dependents. Such lordships probably, perhaps oftenest, came into existence, through "commendation"—that is through one man, to save his life in time of invasion or famine, submitting himself to be the "man" of some powerful person who could protect him from foes or maintain him on a piece of arable land. The "commended" men became "vassals," bound to perform certain services; and the person who received commendation became a lord, bound to give protection and justice to his dependents. A small lord might commend himself to a greater, and the greater to one still more powerful, and so lordship ascended in each country to the king or emperor.

The greatest lords, the last in the series of links before the king or emperor was reached, were almost independent sovereigns; at any rate, in France and in Germany. The kings of England, except during the anarchy of Stephen's reign (1135-1154), had been strong enough to quell the independent tendencies of the feudal barons; in France the process took longer, but by the end of the fifteenth century the feudal

dukes were nearly all subjected to the royal authority. In Germany, feudalism had at the top a development different from its French or English way. The chief lords, those immediately under the emperor, tended to become really independent sovereigns, bound by an almost nominal tie to the supreme lord. This tendency became most marked in the "interregnum" between 1250 and 1273, between the death of Frederick II. and the accession of Rudolf of Habsburg. The Margrave of Brandenburg, the Duke of Saxony, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Bavaria, and scores of other smaller secular lords, as well as the Archbishops of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne, and some scores of great landed bishops and abbots, acted as almost absolute local sovereigns, and acquired rights which they never lost as long as the Holy Roman Empire existed. The line of emperors, always elective, was restored in 1273, when the chief princes of Germany assembled at Frankfort, chose Rudolf, who was a count of Habsburg in the Aargau, and lord of certain other territories in Switzerland and Alsace. He proved to be capable as a ruler, working hard to keep the peace between the princes, and greatly encouraging the independence (under the Emperor) of towns. These Free Imperial Cities were the natural allies of the Emperor against the princes whose tariffs, tolls, and private wars interrupted trade and commerce. They were islands of peace in a Germany which, in spite of the efforts of successive emperors, was torn by private war down to the Reformation.

The interest of the later Middle Ages is not in the all but continuous state of warfare, which devastated enormous tracts of land, and left the standard of life

miserably low, but in the emergence of national civilisations, free intellectual outlook, and romantic spiritual culture. The Hundred Years' War is the big political fact. It was really a five hundred years' war, beginning with the conquest of England by William the Conqueror in 1066, and ending (if indeed it ended) with the loss of the last possession of England in France, Calais, in 1558. The expression, "Hundred Years' War," is applied to that part of the struggle, between 1339 and 1453, in which the English kings made a definite attempt to gain large provinces across the Channel, and even to conquer the whole country and to become kings of France. The victories of Edward III. and the Black Prince at Crecy in 1346 and Poitiers in 1356 confirmed the English monarchy in this ruinous policy of attempting to conquer the most civilised of mediæval peoples. The victory of Henry V. at Agincourt in 1415 and his invasions of Normandy and Champagne in 1417-1419 gave him, by the Anglo-French Treaty of Troyes (1420), the right of succession to the crown of France. But the growth of French national feeling, under the impulsion of the devoted Maid of Orleans (Joan of Arc), made the design of the English in the long run hopeless. By 1453 they were driven out of all their French possessions except Calais.

The disgrace, the bankruptcy, and the social evils which attend upon an unsuccessful war, reacted upon the domestic affairs of England and led, in 1455, to the dreadful "Wars of the Roses." Two branches of the royal family, the Lancastrians and the Yorkists, with their dependents, fought each other in intermittent civil wars. Stability was only attained by

England when all the Yorkist and Lancastrian princes were either killed or safely locked up, and when Henry VII. (Tudor) made himself king in 1485.

In France there had been civil wars of a somewhat similar kind, which ended in the reign of Louis XI. (1461-1483), who, like Henry VII. in England, gave peace to the country by establishing almost a royal autocracy. In Italy many local princes and sovereign cities fought each other, but the wars were, on the whole, not bloody, being reduced to something like a game of manœuvre by the professional soldiers, called *condottieri*. Therefore the Italians, being the least devastated by war, were in arts and crafts and letters the most cultured people in the later Middle Ages.

One of the earliest works of vernacular literature, and one of the greatest of all time, is Dante's *Divina Comedia*. A Florentine of good fortune, Dante fought in the petty civic wars of the time, and became involved in the factions of political parties, of whom the chief were the Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs were originally the supporters of the Papacy in its struggle with the Emperors Frederick I. and Frederick II.; the Ghibellines were imperialist. Actually Dante was a Guelf, but the party was split into two—Whites and Blacks—and Dante, a White Guelf, was driven out of Florence by the Blacks. His political ideas approached very nearly to those of the Ghibellines; for, as he wrote both in the *Divina Comedia* and the *De Monarchia*, he passionately lamented the divisions and internal wars of Italy, and longed for an emperor to come and rule it. The purpose of the *Comedia*, however, is not political. Dante had, as a

young man, fallen in love with a young Florentine lady, Beatrice, who married another man and died young. Dante appears never to have spoken to Beatrice, but though he himself married happily later, he carried the flame of a hopeless love in his heart till he died. He was born in 1265, and died, an exile at Ravenna, in 1321. The *Divina Comedia*, in its three parts, *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, *Paradiso*, tells the story of Dante being guided by the old Roman poet, Virgil, and by Beatrice through the supernatural world, where he meets all the famous bygone characters of history. The poem is written in rhyming stanzas of four lines each, and for his medium of expression Dante chose not Latin, the literary language of the day, but his native Tuscan, and so established Italian as the national literary tongue. After Dante a steady series of Italian men of letters, of whom the novelist Boccaccio (1313-1375) and the lyric poet and classical scholar Petrarch (1304-1374) are the best known, bridge the gap between the "Latin" or scholastic period and the modern period of the Renaissance.

England in the later Middle Ages had its vernacular poet, its portrayer of society, its man of letters of European reputation. This was Geoffrey Chaucer, son of a London merchant, and worthy representative of the solid, educated *bourgeoisie*, always the most progressive class in Europe. Chaucer, who was born in 1340, fought in the French Wars, was taken prisoner, and spent some months in Italy. When he returned to London he became a kind of Civil Servant or court official, went on an embassy, married, took a house in Westminster, and wrote poetry. *The Canter-*

bury Tales, in English, are stories in verse, much influenced by Boccaccio's prose stories in the *Decameron*. The best-known part is, however, not the stories (romantic and delightful as they are), but the *Prologue*, a pageant of the people of later medieval England, journeying on holiday or pilgrimage to the shrine of the most popular English saint, St. Thomas à Becket of Canterbury. Chaucer died in 1400.

François Villon was a Parisian, born in 1431. In the Middle Ages guilds of students or guilds of teachers had come into existence, comparable to the guilds of craftsmen who regulated industry and trade. The guilds of teachers or students, obtaining a charter from the local bishop or prince, regulated teaching within a certain area and became known as universities. Villon was a student at the oldest and most famous of medieval universities, Paris. Scholars were nearly always poor; learning had few or no rewards in the Middle Ages. The men lived miserably in chilly college rooms or in worse lodgings in the city. Villon, after taking his degree as Master of Arts, eked out a poor existence, probably by "coaching" other students or perhaps by writing letters for those who could not write. He gradually sank in life, came into trouble with the law, joined a gang of thieves, and served at least two sentences in prison. How he passed his last wretched years is unknown; he died probably about 1465, leaving some fifty or more poems and ballads in French, sweet, pathetic, mixed with much that is mean and sordid. "It is in the work which this loose and out-at-elbows student has left that we must look for the rise in Western Europe of lyric poetry, so expressive of mankind's yearning after the beautiful and serene."

CHAPTER VII

*THE REFORMATION AND THE
RENAISSANCE*

THE Middle Ages were not altogether unlearned, but education could not be widespread before the invention of printing, when manuscripts could only be multiplied by the laborious work of copyists. The infinite ingenuity of the European peoples, which is such a marked feature from the sixteenth century onwards, is scarcely discernible in the Middle Ages. Hardly any improvements were made in the rude mechanisms in common use; almost nothing was done to increase the comfort of existence; dirt, darkness, disease were the common things of life. Religion and the occasional emergence of men of high, saintly character elevated an otherwise gross age, and left its mark on Europe in numerous lovely Gothic churches. Chivalry, the code of honour of the knighthood of all Western nations, redeemed a little of the sordidness of perpetual war. The human mind, which can never be quite fettered, found its sphere of inquiry in "scholastic" philosophy, as permitted by the Catholic Church and as practised with the highest ability by St. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274). The old classical literature, except Virgil in the original Latin and Aristotle in Latin translation, had been almost forgotten. The study of Greek died out except in the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire, where it was the language of the people.

It is impossible to say what produced the Revival

of Learning—the Renaissance, the lifting of the veil so that men looked outward on every side, and searched for the truth with fearless energy and rapid success. The latent capacities of the Western races were suddenly developed, and human genius blossomed with rich and bewildering fertility.

Yet the Renaissance was not such a sudden fact as is often supposed. There had been harbingers of it in the Middle Ages, like the scholar Abelard, condemned to silence by the Council of Sens in 1141, or the Friar Roger Bacon, whose researches in optics led to imprisonment in 1257. In 1395 a Byzantine, Manuel Chrysoloras, was teaching Greek in Florence. In 1345 Petrarch discovered at Verona the large and delightful collection of Latin manuscripts known as Cicero's Letters to Atticus. About 1415, Poggio Bracciolini, secretary to the ecclesiastical Council of Constance, discovered many important Latin literary manuscripts in monasteries in South Germany. In 1453, Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, which for years had resisted the Asiatic invaders called Ottoman Turks, was captured and sacked by Mohammed II., the Conqueror. The last Greek Emperor, Constantine XII., was killed fighting in the *mêlée*. The Empire of the East, which had existed since Arcadius and Honorius divided the Roman Empire in 395, thus reached its tragic but not inglorious end. Greek scholars, fleeing from the Turk, brought their learning to Italy and the countries of Central and Western Europe. In the next fifty years the study of Greek rapidly advanced, and at the same time painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, and the science of politics all showed amazing and rich

development. Amid many brilliant men, perhaps Leonardo, Erasmus, and Machiavelli were most characteristic of the Renaissance.

Leonardo da Vinci was born near Florence in the Val d'Arno in 1452. Artists, like other craftsmen, were "gilded" in those days. Leonardo, when he was twenty years old, joined the gild of painters. For a time he was a soldier, a military engineer in the service of the Mohammedan ruler of Cairo. Later he lived at Milan, patronised by the duke or "tyrant" of that city, called Ludovico Sforza. At Milan he painted *The Last Supper* on a wall of the refectory of the Convent of Santa Maria della Grazie. He campaigned for a time with Cesare Borgia, Duke of Romagna. In 1506 he painted the picture of *Mona Lisa*, or *La Gioconda*, a picture which is the chief glory of the Louvre. Leonardo died in France in 1519, in a château put at his disposal by King Francis I. The only contemporary who was his peer in art was Michaelangelo, the greatest of Florentine sculptors, and a poet also of high fame.

Throughout the Middle Ages and throughout the period of the Renaissance Europe had a language which all educated people understood, Latin. Thus scholars could go from university to university, and from country to country, speaking, discussing, corresponding, moving in what was almost an international society of learning. The greatest of these international scholars was Desiderius Erasmus, who was born at Rotterdam in 1467, and who died at Bâle, 1536. He studied, travelled, and taught in the Netherlands, France, England, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. It was one of the pupils whom Erasmus taught at Paris,

Lord Mountjoy, who first induced him to visit England. Erasmus resided much at Oxford, and produced the first critical text of the New Testament in Greek, which was forthwith spread about by the recent invention of printing.

Niccolo Machiavelli was born at Florence in 1469, the son of a flourishing lawyer. He was well educated, especially in Latin literature and in Roman history, although he learned no Greek. He became an official in the Chancery of the Republic of Florence, and rose to be chief Secretary, often going on diplomatic missions. Among these missions there was one to Cesare Borgia, duke or tyrant of the Romagna, for whose ruthless efficiency Machiavelli conceived the keenest admiration. Machiavelli's experiences of politics and war, with all their uncertainties, combined with his observations of Cesare's methods, inspired him to write *Il Principe*—"The Prince"—a treatise on Government. This short work, written in a most simple, attractive style, became the textbook of Renaissance statesmen. It taught rulers how to preserve their position, amid the international anarchy caused by the rise of powerful nation-states at the close of the Middle Ages. Machiavelli died in 1527.

Wonderful as was the effect of the Renaissance in releasing the human spirit from the cramping intellectual system of the Middle Ages, the Reformation was a yet more powerful stride to freedom. In the Middle Ages there had been a few schisms in the Church: in Provence, where a sect called the Albigenses obtained many adherents about the year 1210; in England, where John Wycliffe denounced the worldliness of the Roman clergy about 1380; and in Bohemia

where Huss about 1412 preached that the laity should have the wine as well as the bread in the Communion. These movements, as it were, heralded a great breach in the Church but did not create one. The Church itself recognised that abuses existed; and in a great General Council held at Constance in 1414-1417 the assembled bishops and learned doctors discussed reform. There were at this time three Popes, each of whom claimed to have been validly elected. The Council of Constance deposed all three and elected a new man, Cardinal Colonna, as Pope Martin V. (1417). Yet though Martin V. honourably carried out his duties, the morale of the Papacy declined under his successors, of whom the worst and most notorious was Rodrigo Borgia (father of Cesare Borgia) who became Pope in 1492 with the title of Alexander VI. Julius II., Pope from 1503 to 1513, was a warrior-prelate who lived much in camps. Leo X. (Medici) was personally respectable but wholly devoted to art and letters. During Leo's pontificate, indulgences (or pardons for sin committed) were freely sold throughout Central and Western Europe in order to provide funds for the building of St. Peter's Church in Rome. The scandal of indulgences aroused the German monk Martin Luther to denounce the whole Papal system (1517), and finally to break away with all who would follow him and to establish an independent Protestant (or protesting) church. Luther denounced not merely the autocratic power of the Pope over man's minds, but he denied the central doctrine of the Roman Church, that the bread and wine of the Sacrament are changed at consecration into the actual body and blood of Christ. Yet he maintained the essential qualities of

the Christian religion—faith in God, devotion to morality, belief in the divinity of Christ.

The attitude adopted by the monk Luther may appear simple to many people now, but it was a terrific step for people emerging out of the Middle Ages to take. It was a challenge to all accepted belief, a risking of life and soul, a braving of all the fearful powers of the unseen. The steadfast faith of Luther kept the world sane when all the foundations of belief were collapsing.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

LUTHER's Reformation received a large following in Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and, to a less extent, in England. Another Protestant reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, attracted many people in Switzerland, especially in the canton of Zurich (1524), and John Calvin introduced a still sterner Protestantism in France and in his adopted home Geneva (1541). Meanwhile the Catholic Church had thoughtful members who were determined to reform it from within. This Catholic Reformation, after it had cleansed the Church, became militant after 1563 and turned upon the Protestants, recovering much of the ground which it had lost. This process of recovery is called the Counter-Reformation.

The most powerful and inspiring of the Catholic reformers was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight who, after being wounded in the wars with France (1521), resolved to leave the military service and to found an Order of soldiers of Christ. Friends and devoted followers enthusiastically adopted his views, and in 1540 Pope Paul III. recognised the establishment of the Order of the Jesuits by the Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiæ*. From this time the Papacy had at its service in almost every country representatives of a highly organised and wealthy society. Rigorously trained in religion, scholarship and practical affairs; courteous, fearless, obedient in all things, the Jesuits have proved to be incomparable instruments in the protection and expansion of the Catholic Church. Their great opportunity came when a General Council of the Church held at Trent succeeded, by the year 1563, in pruning away all the faults of discipline in the priesthood, and in precisely defining the beliefs of the Church, in issuing the *Creed of Pius IV.*

The numbers Catholicism was losing through the Reformation it might be said to have made up by Discovery. In 1492 the Genoese sailor Columbus, suddenly and simply, by sailing across the Atlantic, added a new world to the old, and thus dissipated the geographical darkness that environed the Middle Ages, as the intellectual men of the Renaissance dissipated the surrounding mental darkness. A stream of brave adventurers followed Columbus; Cortes conquered the Aztec Empire of Mexico (1520) and Pizarro overcame the Inca Empire of Peru (1533). By the middle of the sixteenth century all Central and South America was (though vast regions remained unexplored) in the

dominion either of Spaniards or Portuguese, and millions of Indians were being baptised into the Catholic Church.

The Portuguese, though a smaller nation than the Spaniards, were equally forward in the work of exploration and maritime adventure. In 1487 the Portuguese Bartholomew Diaz had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope and had opened up the maritime road to India. Large tracts of the coast of India, of Ceylon, and even ports in China came under the flag of the hardy "Lusitanians." Cabral, another Portuguese, discovered Brazil (1500). Pope Alexander VI., by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) divided all the newly discovered lands overseas between the Portuguese and Spaniards; and until the advent of the Dutch (about 1535) and of the English (about 1580), Spain and Portugal had a free hand in disposing of those vast regions.

In Europe the Crown of Spain overshadowed all other states. The mightiest and richest of the French feudal states, Burgundy, collapsed with the death of Duke Charles the Bold in 1477; the duchy of Burgundy itself was annexed by Louis XI., King of France, but the rest of the dominions of Charles the Bold—the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, Luxemburg, and Franche Comté—passed with his daughter Mary, by her marriage, to Maximilian I. of Habsburg, Emperor and Archduke of Austria. The son of Mary of Burgundy, and the Emperor Maximilian was the Archduke Philip, who married Joanna of Spain, and through her inherited the Spanish throne. The son of Philip and Joanna was Charles V., who inherited the Netherlands, Austria, Hungary, Spain, Naples, and Spanish

America; in 1519 he was elected Emperor on the death of his grandfather Maximilian I.

The Empire of Charles V. was not a revival of the Roman or Medieval Empire with its ideal of peace and equal opportunity for all peoples. It was, in effect, a Spanish Empire, by which Central and most of Western Europe were drained of men and money to fight the battles of the King of Spain and of the Pope—for Charles V. was strongly orthodox. All Spanish history had been a crusade; first against the Moors (who were finally conquered at Granada by the sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492), and later in the conquest of the heathen South American tribes. Charles V. (and still more his gloomy son, Philip II.) carried on the militant Roman Catholic ideal and fought the Protestants. The overweening power of the Empire of Charles V. was, however, checked by long wars waged with Francis I., King of France. The predecessor of Francis, Charles VIII. of France, had invaded Italy in 1494 in order to conquer the decadent states of Milan and Naples. Spain intervened to prevent a French empire over Italy. Thus began a long series of wars between France and Spain for lordship of Italy, which did not end until 1559, when, at the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, the two Powers agreed that Spain should have Milan and Naples. France, in compensation, occupied and held Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine.

Wars of conquest in Italy were followed by wars of religion. Charles V. abdicated in 1556. His empire had for some years been divided. His brother Ferdinand was Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and of Bohemia. On Charles's abdication,

Ferdinand was elected Emperor, and Philip was established as King of Spain and ruler of the Spanish dominions in Italy, the New World, and the Netherlands. He allowed the Spanish Inquisition, which was an ecclesiastical institution for the extirpation of heresy, to carry on its terrible mission among the Protestant Netherlanders. A reign of blood and terror ensued (especially when the soldier Duke of Alva was Governor of the Netherlands, 1567-1573), and led to the revolt, or Dutch War of Independence, in 1572.

For eighty years, with an interval of twelve years, it is true (1609-1621), the small Dutch people maintained a struggle for freedom with the vast Spanish Empire. Their leader was the heroic William the Silent, Prince of Orange, until his assassination in 1584; after this, first one son, Maurice of Nassau, then another, Frederick Henry, carried on the leadership. The Dutch found sympathisers in the English nation, which, under the Tudor kings Henry VIII. (1509-1547) and Edward VI. (1547-1553), had adopted the Protestant religion. Edward's eldest sister, Mary, who reigned from 1553 to 1558, restored Catholicism by methods of fire, but the next sister, Elizabeth (1558-1603), the last of the Tudors, re-established a modern, comprehensive Church of England. This action, combined with the adventures of English seamen into the waters of South America (the "Spanish Main" or Mainland), involved a war with Philip II. In 1588 he sent the huge Armada—the greatest naval armament that had ever been—against the daring islands. *Flavit et dissipati sunt*—God blew and they were scattered (such is the legend on the coin struck in 1588). Drake and Hawkins had already beaten it in the Channel.

The efforts of the "Counter-Reformation" were more successful in France than in England. The French Protestants, the Huguenots, revolted against persecution, but were unable to overcome the resistance of the Crown. Charles IX. (or his mother, Catherine de Medici) had large numbers of them massacred on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. A League of Catholic nobles was formed under the Duke of Guise to suppress the Huguenots, and was aided with men and troops by Philip of Spain. But a Huguenot prince of the House of Bourbon, Henry IV., succeeded to the French throne in 1589. By 1598 he had made his position secure, and although he had himself become a Catholic (because "Paris was worth a Mass," he said), he issued a fine edict of Toleration in 1598—the Edict of Nantes—and all France at last breathed in peace.

There was one belated (but gigantic) effort of the Counter-Reformation left over for the seventeenth century—the Thirty Years' War (1618 to 1648). But the sixteenth century ended in religious peace.

CHAPTER IX

THE GRAND CENTURY.

THE French call the seventeenth *Le Grand Siècle*. It was certainly great, judged by every accepted standard in France, England, the Netherlands, and Sweden. In

other countries the hands of the clock scarcely moved on.

The two great Slavonic states were taking on form and strength. Medieval Russia was a collection of independent principalities, but under the Tsar Ivan the Terrible of Muscovy, who reigned from 1533 to 1584, an empire was consolidated and much of Siberia was colonised. Poland, along with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was ruled by kings of the Jagellon family from 1386 to 1572. After the death of the last Jagellon, Sigismund II., the nobles made the throne elective, sometimes choosing a foreign prince, sometimes a native nobleman. The greatest of the elective kings was John Sobieski (reigned 1674 to 1696), who, when the Turks made their memorable siege of Vienna in 1683, came to the help of the Habsburg Emperor and wholly routed the invaders at the Battle of the Kalenberg. A little later the real maker of the modern Russian bureaucratic state appeared, Peter the Great, whose long reign from 1689 to 1725 brought Western civilisation into Russia, and left the state with a navy and powerful army.

Italy did not maintain the high exuberance of art and letters which had distinguished it in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In the course of the long wars between Charles VIII. and Francis I., marches and battles of armies had interrupted the pursuit of culture. In 1527 an Imperial army sacked Rome, and the Renaissance in Italy seemed to die away from that time. In seventeenth-century Italy the higher clergy were worldly, and the nobles, though still interested in art, found few high artists to patronise. The Pope misruled a large state in Central

Italy, and material prosperity declined. Florence, still ruled by the Medici family, produced little except light music and pantomimes; the Republic of Venice, especially at the time of its annual carnival, became a city of pleasure. An impressive picture of the rather aimless life of the dilettante Italian courts in the middle of the seventeenth century is given in a modern novel, Shorthouse's *John Inglesant*.

The intellectual strength of Germany seemed to have been exhausted by the long-drawn-out crisis of the Lutheran Reformation; fifty or sixty years later the Thirty Years' War threw it back into stagnation. This struggle arose out of the recognition of the strongly Roman Catholic Ferdinand of Styria, cousin of the Emperor Matthias, as king-designate of Bohemia. The Bohemians, many of whom had adopted the Protestant religion, revolted in 1618 and adopted another king, the Calvinist Frederick V. of the Palatinate, who was a son-in-law of James I. of England. The Austrian and the Spanish monarchs (both were Habsburgs) regarded the Bohemian revolt as a challenge, not merely to the Habsburg political position, but to the whole Counter-Reformation. As Spanish and Austrian armies descended upon Bohemia and the Palatinate, Protestant states joined in the struggle. England, weakened by the dissensions between Crown and Parliament under James I. and Charles I., took small part in the war; but the Dutch (whose truce with Spain expired in 1621), King Christian IV. of Denmark (in 1625), King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (in 1630), and finally France, took the field against the Habsburgs and turned what began as a great tide of Catholic military success at last into an even balance between

the Protestant and Catholic forces. Bohemia had won a brief spell of independence in 1618, but lost it at the Battle of the White Hill outside Prague in 1620, when Austrian and Spanish forces defeated Frederick, Elector Palatine, whom the Jesuits called the "Winter King" of Bohemia. Ferdinand, who was elected Emperor in 1619, found a military genius in Albrecht von Wallenstein, whose armies carried everything before them until the Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, seeing that if he did not come to Germany the Counter-Reformation would come to him, brought his army to Pomerania in July, 1830.

Gustavus brought a breath of heroism and idealism into the war. He fought hard but cleanly; he tolerated Catholicism or Protestantism alike wherever he found it already established; he observed the rules of international law defined in the book *On the Laws of War and Peace* which the Dutchman Grotius had published in 1625. The Lion of the North, however, whom no one could dissuade from riding at the head of his men into battle, was killed at the Battle of Lützen in 1632. After this the Protestant forces, which had, in Gustavus' brief two years, been superior to the Catholic, did no more than hold their own. Indeed, they might have been wholly defeated and the Habsburg monarch might have become supreme over every German state. To prevent such an increase of strength, which would have been dangerous to France, Cardinal Richelieu, the chief Minister of Louis XIII., offered military assistance to Oxenstierna, the Chancellor of Sweden, who maintained the struggle in Germany (1635). The Franco-Swedish forces destroyed any chance of a Habsburg supremacy, but could not con-

quer Austria. The war, which had resulted in atrocious devastation of large parts of Germany, came almost to a standstill. Peace was made in the first Congress of Powers which met in Europe, in the contiguous towns of Osnabrück and Münster in Westphalia in 1648.

The Peace of Westphalia, a European treaty subscribed to by nearly every state, marks the end of the wars of religion. It established toleration in Germany in so far as every reigning prince or governing senate could decide the religion of the state. On the whole, North Germany was, at the Peace, substantially Protestant, South Germany for the most part Catholic. At the same time the Dutch—another Protestant state—were finally recognised as independent by Spain, and the Swiss, largely though not wholly Protestant, were recognised as absolutely independent of the Empire. Thus a religious balance of power was established which, provided each religion tolerates the other, is a wholesome thing for Europe.

The Thirty Years' War was a civil war in Germany, and therefore terribly exhausting. Towns decayed, several universities became extinct; fifty years or more were required for intellectual and material recovery. France had suffered little; for her the war was an external struggle and was successful. France gained practically all Alsace except Strassburg. The great Cardinal Richelieu had died in 1642; Louis XIII. died in 1643; but Cardinal Mazarin carried on the work of winning the "natural frontiers" for France down to the Peace of Westphalia with Austria in 1648 (when France annexed Alsace) and to the Peace of the Pyrenees with Spain in 1659, when the crest-line of

the Pyrenees was adopted as the frontier between the two countries. When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis XIV., who was then nearly twenty-three years old, was ready to take over supreme administration himself.

This monarch fixed the final seal of grandeur upon the great century of France. French culture set a standard for all Europe—in drama, Racine, Corneille, Molière; in criticism, Boileau; in oratory, Bossuet; in painting, Claude Lorraine and Watteau; in architecture, Mansard. It was this architect, Hardouin Mansard (1646-1708), who built the vast and stately Palace of Versailles, the lasting monument of the grandeur of Louis XIV.

The greatest works of Louis were works of peace—literature of the “grand style,” architecture according to the classical tradition, the development of French commerce, industry, agriculture, through the administrative genius of Colbert (Controller-General of Finance, 1651-1683). In military affairs France was also pre-eminent, and in a series of wars with the Dutch, with England, with the Empire, with Spain, strengthened her frontier by the addition of the fortresses Strassburg and Lille, and of the province Franche Comté. The last effort of Louis XIV., on the death of the childless Charles II. of Spain, to place his grandson, Philip, on the Spanish throne (bequeathed to Philip by Charles II.) was also a success. At the end of the long War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713), Philip V., second grandson of Louis XV., was recognised in the Treaty of Utrecht as King of Spain, although with the condition that the Crowns of France and Spain must never be joined together.

CHAPTER X

THE AGE OF REASON

By the time that Louis XIV. died in 1715, a sad old man of seventy-seven, the *grandeur* which was the mark of at least the late seventeenth century seemed to have departed from Europe. France was materially and morally exhausted by the War of the Spanish Succession. The Dutch in the seventeenth century had produced works of the highest culture: portraits by Rembrandt of Amsterdam (1607-1689), landscapes by Ruysdael (1628-1682), domestic scenes by Peter de Hooch (about 1665). A Dutchman, Grotius (1583-1645), founded, by his book *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, International Law. The War of the Spanish Succession, however, in which the Dutch engaged along with Great Britain and the empire against France, exhausted them too. The Empire (Germany) had not recovered from the Thirty Years' War when it was plunged into the wars of Louis XIV. It produced only one man of the highest fame in the history of thought, Leibnitz (1646-1716) the philosopher, inventor of the *differential calculus*. England, in spite of civil war (1642-1649) and of revolution (1688), flourished exceedingly in the seventeenth century, and produced literature on the grandest scale—the magnificent epic of Milton, the moving allegory of Bunyan, the majestic history of Clarendon, the political treatise of Hobbes. In the eighteenth century Great Britain (Scotland being joined to England by the Union of 1707) produced no epics, and the “grand style”

descended from the mighty prose or verse of Milton to the "classical" restraint and controlled strength of Pope or Johnson.

The eighteenth century (until the French Revolution) was an age when people were disillusioned and no longer pursued with impetuous ardour their ideals in religion or politics. There could be no wars of religion now, because men had not much faith in anything. The intellectual outlook was frank and tolerant, but not too serious. Life was an art, to be pursued gracefully by all who had the means to live like educated people. One of the most popular forms of literature was the essay, brief, gently contemplative, sparkling with shrewd observation, like the essays of Addison. Literary and philosophical conversation was highly cultivated and appreciated at home and in club life; a most admirable picture of this is found in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, the epitome of eighteenth-century wit and reasonableness.

There were wars, but not so many as in the seventeenth century, nor were they so frightful. The seventeenth century had sixty-three years of particularly atrocious war on the grand scale. In the eighteenth century there was the long Spanish Succession War at the beginning, and the equally long French Revolutionary War at the end. But between the end of the first and the opening of the last war—that is, between 1714 and 1792—there were only three grand-scale wars occupying a total of twenty years. The armies, which were becoming more and more national, although bad enough in their methods, were far better disciplined than the purely mercenary forces of the seventeenth century, to whom war was nothing more than a hard

trade. The eighteenth century was an age of autocrats (except in Great Britain), and, on the whole, the autocrats tried to keep their peoples (whose wishes they did not consult) at peace—on the whole, but with certain very large exceptions.

The exceptions to the periods of peace were made by the dynastic ambition which on certain famous occasions triumphed over the autocrats' love of peace. The monarchs who were ready, quite cynically, to start a European war in order to gain or regain a province were Queen Elizabeth Farnese, wife of Philip V. of Spain, Frederick II. of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria.

Although Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV., had, through the War of the Spanish Succession, made good his claim to be King of Spain, he had been compelled (at the Peace of Utrecht) to cede the Belgic Netherlands and Milan and Naples to Austria. His second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of a Duke of Parma, was anxious that the Italian provinces should be recovered, if not for Spain, then for her two sons. Having complete ascendancy over the mind of Philip V., she was practically autocrat of Spain. Four times she took advantage of a strained international situation to make war, in order to upset the "Utrecht" settlement in Italy. The first occasion was in 1718, when she conspired with the Jacobites to raise a rebellion in England, and when she sent a Spanish army to Sicily; but Great Britain, France, Austria, and the Dutch stood together, and smothered this design at the start (naval battle of Cape Passaro, 1718). The second occasion was in 1727, when a Spanish army besieged Gibraltar, Great Britain's only European gain from the

Spanish Succession War. Once more the concert or understanding between Great Britain (directed by the pacific Walpole), France (directed by the equally pacific Cardinal Fleury), and Austria (also under a mild man, Charles VI.) stifled the early flame of war without much fighting. Elizabeth Farnese's third excursion into the dreadful field of European war was in 1733, when a disputed election to the throne of Poland started the War of Polish Succession between France, which supported the candidature of the Pole, Stanislaus Leczynski, and Austria, which supported the claim of Augustus III. of Saxony. Spain made the war general (except that Walpole refused to intervene) by invading Italy. This time Elizabeth's elder son, Carlos (afterwards Charles III. of Spain) succeeded in making himself King of Naples. The terrible woman's fourth adventure was in the War of the Austrian Succession, when her second son, Philip, landed in Italy and secured his recognition as sovereign Duke of Parma.

The War of the Austrian Succession was brought about by an act of sheer aggression on the part of Frederick II. of Prussia. He had certain legal claims, disputable but good enough to be argued about, to the Austrian province of Silesia. He seized the opportunity of the death of the Emperor Charles VI. and the accession of Charles' daughter to the Habsburg dominions to invade Silesia (December, 1740) and to annex it. Like vultures, France and Bavaria joined in the attack to dismember the Habsburg Monarchy; Great Britain joined in the defence. Eight years' war ensued before the powers met in Congress and made the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). The Habsburg dominions were secured intact to Maria Theresa except

for Silesia—nobody could dislodge Frederick from that.

The King of Prussia, although he had spent the first eight years of his reign in intermittent war, actually was by nature far more interested in peaceful administration. Having gained Silesia, all that he now wanted was to keep it, and to develop it fruitfully along with the rest of his dominions. But Maria Theresa would not let the matter rest; she must make a coalition so as to be able to fight—even at the expense of a general European conflagration—for the recovery of Silesia. Her diplomacy, or rather that of her chief adviser, the Chancellor von Kaunitz, brought about the "Diplomatic Revolution" which astonished Europe—the alliance of France and Austria, two monarchies which had never joined together for the last two and a half centuries except to fight.

The momentous Habsburg-Bourbon Alliance was made in 1756, and the European War over the question of Silesia was restarted in the same year. This time, the British Government was not on the side of Austria, for it regarded the Silesian question as closed. In Canada and in India French and English interests incessantly clashed with each other. From the "New England" and southern British colonies in North America, a Virginian colonel of militia called George Washington had already (1754) taken part in an expedition against French Canada. From the New World and from India the Franco-British struggle spread to Europe, so that in the 'Seven Years' War concerning Silesia (1756-1763) Great Britain supported Frederick of Prussia against France and Austria. In the terrific struggle which ensued, Prussia went through the

furnace fires, but Frederick's military genius and constancy brought his country (with Silesia) safely through, helped by British subsidies and soldiers. The British fleets swept the French navy off the sea, so that Wolfe was able to win Canada and Clive India. These results were all registered in the Franco-British Treaty of Paris, and the Austro-Prussian Treaty of Hubertusburg, in 1763.

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

AWAY back in the eighteenth century Voltaire had sounded the note of revolt. Born in 1694, dying in 1778, Voltaire's long life was spent in England, in Prussia (at the Court of Frederick the Great), or in his country house in France on the border of Geneva at Ferney. With a passion for justice, he savagely but wittily attacked every sort of public abuse—political, social, ecclesiastical, and shook the apparently solid foundations of trim eighteenth-century society. More direct was the attack of the wandering and dissolute teacher and man of letters, Jean Jacques Rousseau of Geneva (1712-1778), who in the *Contrat Social* wrote that the current political systems kept men in chains when they had every right to choose their own government.

Alexis de Tocqueville has analysed with unerring

scholarship the political and social system of France under the *Ancien Régime* and has pointed out its defects. Thomas Carlyle, in vivid words, has described the storms and passions of the titanic outburst called the Revolution. There was fermentation everywhere. The idealistic phrases of the Jacobin Club in Paris were echoed in every part of Central and Western Europe. The Revolution occurred in France rather than elsewhere, because in France the monarchy was weaker, the administration more cumbrous and complicated, and the people probably more alert and intelligent—perhaps also more excitable—than in most other countries. The French kings had made the mistake of stopping any safety-valve. They had summoned no general representative body—no “Estates General”—since 1614, and they had suppressed most of the provincial and civic assemblies. Moreover, the Crown was bankrupt; in a prosperous country the huge nobility paid no direct taxes; the clergy and *bourgeoisie* were also exempt from taxation; the burden of the financial system fell on the peasantry. A bankrupt government is a feeble government. When, as a last means of finding money to pay some of the ever-growing government debts, King Louis XVI. summoned an Estates General on May 5, 1789, to Versailles, the political inexperience and indignation of the deputies caused first confusion, then tumult, finally revolution. Yet out of the fiery debates of the Estates General (or Legislative Assembly as it came to be called) there emerged a grand reform which is still the chief attractive feature of the French Republic. This reform was the enactment of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. It proclaimed that

all citizens are equal before the law; that sovereignty resides in the nation as a whole; that liberty consists in being able to do anything that does not injure others; that property is an inviolable and sacred right; that public offices and rewards are open to all citizens without distinction of birth.

In any revolution, if there are no foreign complications, the most stable element in the state—the *bourgeoisie*, popularly but not correctly called the “Middle” class—always in the long run gains control, and restores normality to the constitutional and social system. The French Revolution, however, was violently assailed from the outside, and was forced to fight for its very existence. This foreign intervention was largely brought upon themselves by the extreme French democrats who carried on a malignant propaganda among foreign peoples, stimulating them to rise against their rulers. Naturally, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and other “benevolent despots,” objected to this propaganda. A war began which confirmed for a time the control which the extremists wielded in France, and brought about the execution of King Louis XVI. on January 21, 1793, and of his Queen, Marie Antoinette, in the following October. The new French Republic discovered that armies recruited from all the nation, officered by men chosen for merit from any class, and animated by patriotic and political ardour, could defeat the old-fashioned armies of the old monarchies. The battle of Valmy (against the Prussians, September 20, 1792) turned back the invaders of France; the battle of Fleurus (against the Austrians, 1794) won the Austrian Netherlands, or Belgium, for the French; the

people of Nice and Savoy welcomed the coming of French troops; even much of the Rhineland—where the German people were the most liberal in politics—accepted French rule. But these military successes prepared the way not for permanent republican institutions, but for Cæsarism, for a military despot, for Napoleon.

The old Cæsar, when Rome was the only civilised power in an otherwise savage Europe, was a benefactor to mankind; but the new Cæsar, when France was only one among many civilised states, was simply an international disturber. Europe could not tolerate a military despotism with drum-head courts-martial in every corner of the continent.

Yet such an all-embracing military despotism was what Napoleonism inevitably created. Napoleon Bonaparte, born in 1769, was a lieutenant of engineers when the Revolution broke out, and was one of the youngest French generals in 1796. He led the French armies to victory against the Austrians in Italy in 1796-1797. He invaded Egypt (with a view to marching ultimately to India to crush the British there) in 1798, and returned (after losing his fleet to Admiral Nelson at the Battle of the Nile) to France in 1799. Finding the Republican Government (known as the Directory) to be inefficient and corrupt, the popular soldier swept it away, and made himself "First Consul." In 1804, after more victories against the Austrians, he submitted his name to a "plebiscite" of the people and was elected Emperor. Combining in an almost unique degree civil and military ability, along with extraordinary callousness and strength of will, the Emperor Napoleon wielded probably more

authority than any other single man in the whole of history.

The society of European states lost perhaps its most important member. For France was now an international outlaw, disregarding all old-established treaties and overriding ancient frontiers. Europe never really submitted to this affliction, yet every successive alliance that was raised against it was smashed by some terrific hammer-blow of the invincible Napoleonic army. In 1800 the first Austrian army had been destroyed in Italy at Marengo. In 1805 another great Austrian army was crushed at Austerlitz, in Moravia. In 1806 the much-vaunted army of Prussia, which had carefully husbanded its strength until this moment, was routed at Jena, and Berlin was occupied. In 1807 a Russian army was defeated at Friedland; in 1809 the obstinate Austrians were again overwhelmed at the Battle of Wagram; in 1812 the Russians were defeated at the Battle of Borodino, and Moscow was occupied by the French "Grande Armée." At this point, however, military success ended; but enough victories had been gained to make cruel war seem to the victors almost a happy pastime, celebrated by names given to all the finest streets in Paris.

For fifteen years Napoleon added province to province. In 1797 he had negotiated with Austria the annexation to France of the left bank of the Rhine (Treaty of Campo Formio), allowing Austria in return to suppress the Republic of Venice and to annex its territory. In 1803 he had induced the last Imperial Congress, held at Ratisbon, to suppress about three hundred small German states. In 1806 Napoleon annexed Venice from Austria. In the same year the

oldest secular monarchy disappeared, for Francis II., Holy Roman Emperor, renounced the last shadow of majesty which Napoleon had left to him. Henceforth he was only Emperor of Austria. In 1808 the Papal States were annexed to the French Empire and the Pope was packed off to a French palace. In 1808 Madrid was occupied, and Spain became a subject-kingdom under France, with Napoleon's elder brother Joseph on the French throne. Only the British Navy was unconquered; the last French fleet had sunk below the waters in Trafalgar Bay in 1805. A mad effort of Napoleon to ruin Britain by barring all her goods and commerce from the Continent—the famous "Continental System" of 1806-1812—only destroyed continental commerce and aroused European hatred of the French oppressor. The military occupation of Spain after 1808 gave the British Army a chance, through their command of the sea, to meet the French on favourable terms on land, helped by Spanish popular risings. Wellington's campaign of 1812 in the Peninsula (storming of Badajos, Battle of Salamanca) coincided with Napoleon's fatal attempt to conquer Russia by invasion. The retreat from Moscow (September-December, 1812) was the signal for a rising of the nations all over Germany. The weary peoples gathered together for the last struggle, and a succession of hard-fought battles forced Napoleon back to France; on March 31, 1814, the Allied armies entered Paris and the great usurper abdicated.

CHAPTER XII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

WHEN the Napoleonic Empire fell with the Allies' entry into Paris, the old Bourbon monarchy was restored to the throne in the person of Louis XVIII., brother of the executed Louis XVI. (for the Dauphin, who died in a revolutionary prison in 1795, counted as the seventeenth). Napoleon was given the Neapolitan island of Elba for a little kingdom, and a treaty of peace was signed between the Allies and France, called the First Peace of Paris (May 30, 1815). France naturally had to renounce all the Napoleonic conquests in Germany, Spain, and Italy, except that the not ungenerous Allies allowed her to keep the Saar and part of Savoy. To deal with the renounced territories a great European Congress met at Vienna, between September and June, 1814-15. While the statesmen were still engaged in the Congress, Napoleon suddenly returned to France (March 1, 1815), chased away Louis XVIII., and established a second French Empire. The general Treaty of Vienna was hastily signed by the Powers on June 9, 1815, and its execution was left to the fortune of war. Wellington's victory in Belgium at Waterloo over Napoleon on June 18 made the "Vienna settlement" solid. Napoleon gave himself up to an English frigate, and was interned at St. Helena. The Second Peace of Paris (November 20, 1815) between the Allies and France (again represented by the restored Louis XVIII.) took away the Saar and Savoy as punishment for the

nation's reception of Napoleon and for the Waterloo war.

The "Vienna Settlement," as contained in the Treaty of June 9, 1815, made the nineteenth-century Europe which endured to 1914. The Holy Roman Empire was not restored, but a "German Confederation" (*Deutsches Bund*) was established, consisting of the thirty-eight existing independent German states, including Austria and Prussia, with Austria as President of the whole union. The Austrian or "Belgic" Netherlands (which the French Revolution and Napoleon had incorporated with France) were not restored to Austria but were added to the Dutch state, the whole to be called the Kingdom of the Netherlands, with the Prince of Orange as king. Switzerland was declared to be a perpetually neutral state. Prussia was allowed to annex the Rhenish province consisting of the former ecclesiastical principalities of Cologne and Trèves. Austria, renouncing the Belgic Netherlands, received back Lombardy (which she had originally obtained at the Peace of Utrecht), and added to it Venice and all the Venetian territory on both sides of the Adriatic. The rest of Italy (except the former Republic of Genoa, given to the Kingdom of Sardinia) was re-allotted to its former sovereigns, whom Napoleon had for a time displaced; the Papal States were given back to the Pope, the Kingdom of Naples to its Spanish-Bourbon dynasty, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (formerly the Florentine Republic) to the younger branch of the Habsburgs, Parma to the Spanish-Bourbon Duke, Modena to its old native-Italian duke, Piedmont and Savoy to the King of Sardinia (formerly known as the Duke of Savoy). The Spanish-Bourbon

Ferdinand VII. (of the line of Philip V.) was restored to the throne of Spain. Poland, owing to the anarchy of an elective monarchy, had been rendered so powerless that in 1772, 1793, and 1795 it had been dismembered until nothing remained, and Russia, Austria, and Prussia shared the whole of it. Napoleon had made a partial restoration of the Polish state, but the Allies at Vienna re-allotted it to the old partitionary Powers—Prussia taking Posen and “West Prussia,” Austria Galicia, Russia the rest. Norway was detached from Denmark and joined to Sweden.

Superficially, Europe seemed to be put back into substantially the same territorial system as before the Revolutionary Era. But in reality there were deep-seated changes. Two movements had been started in the Revolutionary Era which were to make Europe a new continent as compared with its eighteenth-century condition; these were the Parliamentary and National movements.

The French Revolution, although it led straight to Napoleonic despotism, had aroused in every people a consciousness of the need for political freedom. England had for hundreds of years possessed a parliamentary system, but the other European states had not. One by one they found it necessary to establish parliaments after 1815, until, by the end of the nineteenth century, Russia and Turkey were the only states without representative government. It is true that the states which adopted parliamentary institutions did not all make their executive authority responsible to the parliament. At the end of the century the Austrian Empire and the German Empire had executive ministries dependent on the will of the monarch, not on

the representative assembly. But these exceptions came into line with the normal course of European political development at the end of the Great War.

The national movement was as prominent as the parliamentary movement, and was closely connected with it. Every people which was a "cultural unity," though it had not been conscious of this in the eighteenth century, became keenly alive to it in the nineteenth and strove for political unity and independence also.

The first people to make good this claim to national independence were the Belgians, who broke away from the Dutch in 1830 and chose a king, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. The Kingdom of Belgium was recognised and guaranteed by the Powers in 1839 as a perpetually neutral state.

In 1848, which was a year of revolutions, the suppressed nationalities of the Austrian Empire made terrific efforts—in Lombardy-Venetia, in Bohemia, in Croatia, in Hungary—to win national freedom, but after a desperate struggle the army and bureaucracy of the Habsburg monarchy won, and the revolutions were crushed. In 1859 the Italians started a new struggle for national unity. They were prudently, yet daringly, led by Cavour, the Sardinian Prime Minister, and guided to military success by the soldier King Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi, and they were powerfully helped by the Emperor Napoleon III. of France. The victories of Magenta and Solferino, won mainly by French troops, drove the Austrians out of Lombardy, which was then annexed to Sardinia by the Treaty of Villafranca (July 11, 1859). The populations of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and part of the Papal

States, then expelled their sovereigns and joined the enlarged kingdom of Sardinia. In 1860 Garibaldi conquered the kingdom of Naples, and added it to Victor Emmanuel's dominion, henceforward to be called the Kingdom of Italy. In 1866 another war with Austria added Venetia to the kingdom. Finally, in 1870, Victor Emmanuel's troops entered Rome and annexed the last State of the Church. The union of Italy was complete. Pope Pius IX. refused to recognise the annexation of Rome and shut himself up in the Vatican, from which no subsequent Pope has ever stirred. United Italy adopted parliamentary institutions and Responsible Government.

Bismarck was the architect of the united German state, as Cavour was of the Italian. But the German union was less complete than the Italian, and did not result in as free institutions. Bismarck, a strong-willed and highly intelligent Prussian squire, made up his mind that all Germany, except Austria, should be in one union, and that Prussia should be the union's head. As for means, war was likely to be quicker than the slow "liberal" methods of consent. Bismarck is said to have been in the habit of boasting in later years that he had "made" three wars. The first was the Danish War of 1864, when (in conjunction with Austria) Prussia tore the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from the King of Denmark. The second was the war of 1866, when Prussia, defeating Austria at Sadowa, took her share of Schleswig-Holstein, annexed the territories of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Frankfort (allies of Austria), compelled Austria to consent to retire from the Germanic Confederation, and then set up Prussia as the head of a

new union called the North German Confederation. The third war was the Franco-Prussian (1870-1871), in which the French army was overthrown at Sedan and the Emperor Napoleon III. captured; Paris was besieged and taken. Before the end of the war the North German Confederation, with all the South German States, except Austria, was proclaimed as the German Empire, with King William of Prussia as first hereditary Emperor (January 18, 1871). Alsace and Lorraine were taken from France and annexed to the new German Empire (Treaty of Frankfort, May 10, 1871).

France had gone through many vicissitudes since 1815. The Bourbon monarchy lasted only until 1830, when the absolutist king, Charles X., who had succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII. in 1824, was driven out in the "July Revolution." A younger branch of the French royal house, the Orleans family, was elevated to the throne in the person of Louis Philippe. This monarch, in turn, was expelled in the Paris Revolution of 1848, when a Republic was established for the second time in France. In 1851 the President of the Republic, who was a nephew of the great Napoleon, by a *coup d'état* made himself dictator; in the next year he became the Emperor Napoleon III. (for a son of the great Napoleon, who died young, was considered to be the second). The disaster of Sedan (September 1, 1870) in the Franco-Prussian War was fatal to Napoleon III., who, while a prisoner to General von Moltke, was declared by the French to be dethroned. The Third French Republic was then inaugurated and has proved stable to the present day.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WORLD WAR

THE war of 1914-1918 was for modern Europe what the Hundred Years' War was for the Middle Ages: it was the catastrophe of the era.

The nineteenth century had been an age of astonishing and almost continuous progress in every side of human life. In politics there was the realisation of the parliamentary system and of nationality; in industry the invention of steel, aniline dyes, electrical apparatus; in medicine the germ theory, in surgery anæsthetics and antiseptics; in transport, railways, and steamships—whatever aspect of man's life on the earth is examined, there is apparent in the nineteenth century an inconceivable advance in the creation or use of things which make existence pleasant or even possible. Nor can it be averred that the progress of the nineteenth century was wholly material. The "Romantic Movement" towards a fresher, freer style—a revolt from eighteenth-century formalism—began in the eighteenth century itself with Rousseau, Goethe, Jean Paul Richter, Gray, Wordsworth, but reached its highest development in the nineteenth-century work of Shelley, Keats, Byron, Scott, Victor Hugo, Tennyson, Browning, Tolstoi. In the "Oxford Movement" and "Evangelical Movement" the Church of England of the middle of the nineteenth century had a spiritual revival as remarkable as that accomplished outside the Church by Wesley in the eighteenth; and the Roman Catholic Church had, in the middle period and last half of the nineteenth century, an equally striking

increase of piety through the influence of Montalembert, Lacordaire, Newman.

A continuous, although necessarily slow and unsteady, progress towards the prevention of war was expressed in the Concert of Europe, a real, although loose and fragile association of the Powers, animated by a desire to solve international crises by discussion and compromise. The laws and customs of war were ameliorated by the Geneva Convention of 1864 and the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1908. About 200 successful international arbitrations were carried out.

Only two big political failures can be imputed to nineteenth-century Europe: it failed to solve the Eastern Question; and it did not complete its work for nationality. Not that these things were neglected. The Eastern Question—that is, the regularisation of the hitherto abnormal international condition of Turkey in Europe—was handled with some success, in so far as most of the Rumanians, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars in Europe became free and were established as independent nation-states. But the Powers never could agree on their attitude towards Constantinople and the Dardanelles; the Russian advance towards these ports was stopped by the opposition of France and Great Britain in the Crimean War (1854-1856), and by the Congress of Powers in Berlin at the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. The Congress of Paris (1856) and the Congress of Berlin (1878) decided the continuance of Turkish rule in Constantinople and Thrace, but there was no real concord among the Powers.

The second failure, of nineteenth-century Europe was—after recognising the united nationalities in Bel-

gium, Germany, and Italy—in stopping short of the realisation of nationality in respect of the Poles, Czechs, Yugoslavs, Finns, and neighbouring Baltic peoples. The reason for this failure is obvious: three great powers, all military, bureaucratic and autocratic (Russia, Austria, the German Empire), were opposed to the national aspirations of those peoples who were their own subjects.

The World War brought both these questions—the Eastern Question and Nationality—as near to solution as they are likely to come for many years.

The many documents bearing on the origins of the war, published by foreign offices and chancelleries, more frankly and in greater number than at any other period in history, show the great Powers between 1875 and 1914 in almost constant tension with one or other of their body, but equally constantly adjusting, compromising, mediating, settling these day-to-day contentions. To say that the war had to come is merely to give way to the feebleness of pessimism and to deny the plain lesson of history. For the foreign offices and chancelleries, the ministers and cabinets, had been adjusting and settling international crises great and small without a general war breaking out for thirty years before 1914. The 1914 crisis was a particularly serious one, but it was as capable of solution, with the help of *sang-froid* and goodwill, as any other.

There has been a considerable, although far from complete, consensus of opinion throughout the world that Germany was responsible for the outbreak of the World War. And, indeed, this is true in respect of, at any rate, four things; the German Government, by

its consistent scepticism towards all peace methods (such as compulsory arbitration and disarmament) and by its steadily maintained conviction that nations could only live by military strength, kept up a war-atmosphere, a war-tension, and a dangerous condition of armed peace, throughout Europe. Secondly, by refusing to consent to Sir Edward Grey's proposal, made on July 26, for the assembling of a European conference, it prevented a means of discussion and conciliation. Thirdly, by a particular action on July 29, 1914, the German Government destroyed what was perhaps a possible means (at any rate, well worth trying) of averting the imminent conflagration; this was done when the German Government rejected the Tsar's appeal that the Austro-Serbian dispute should be referred to the Hague Court of Arbitration. The fourth thing in the count, which precipitated the actual conflict at the moment, was the ultimatum of Germany to Russia, on August 1, 1914. It is true that Russia was mobilising in full and hostile strength; general mobilisation makes war likely, but not certain; the German ultimatum made it certain. That for years the German Government had been concocting a deep-laid plot to *make* a general war and to win dominion over all the world, there is no serious evidence. The invasion of the neutral state of Belgium on August 3, 1914, does not come into the count of the origin of the war, but of the unscrupulous method of conducting it.

The responsibility of Austria-Hungary is as grave as that of Germany. Austria maintained bureaucratic government over Czechs, Poles, and Yugoslavs, and obstinately refused to admit them with the

German-Austrians and Hungarians into a joint, federal system. Austria-Hungary in 1908 with cynical recklessness annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina (Turkish provinces given her to administer by the Congress of Berlin) without the consent or even the knowledge of the Powers (except Germany), although she was bound by solemn treaty to act only with such consent. It was Austria-Hungary which on July 23, 1914, three weeks after the murder of the Archduke in Bosnia, issued an ultimatum to Serbia with the full knowledge that this would probably lead to war not merely with Serbia but with Russia. That there was a powerful, and unscrupulous, military party in Russia, ready to take up the challenge, was as well known to the Austrians as to every other Power, and does not lessen their responsibility in the least.

The World War must always rank as the most heroic, the most tragic, struggle since the fall of the Roman Empire. In it was seen, supremely tested, triumphantly vindicated, the unconquerable spirit of man which makes him, with all his frailties, the noblest thing in the universe. There is the long and sustained agony on the Western Front amid incredible physical discomfort and pain; the expedition to Gallipoli, the landing on inaccessible, shot-swept beaches, the death-grip on the barren, inclement peninsula; the horrors of the Russian retreat through Galicia, the constancy of its ill-armed, ill-fed, shattered armies; the impetuous German drive through Wallachia, and the Rumanian stand on the Sereth; the freezing struggle in the Alps; the prolonged death-grip in Macedonia; the tortured prisoners of Kut; the ceaseless watches at sea; the toll of life in the air; the selfless devotion of

men in the prime of age and boys on the verge of manhood, mown down like grass on the field of battle, content to lose all for others.

CHAPTER XIV

. *THE NEW EUROPE*

THE Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919, was signed by Germany on the one hand and twenty-eight states on the other, of whom only ten (the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the United States, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Portugal, and Greece) had actually fought in the war. The frontiers of Germany were drastically altered; Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France; Poland and Czechoslovakia were recognised as revived and independent states; Germany was forced to accept responsibility for all the damage of the war, but was actually bound to pay for only that part of the damage which was inflicted on civilians; the Covenant of the League of Nations was established. All the signatories subsequently ratified the Treaty of Versailles except the United States. This great country, in spite of the passionate appeals of President Wilson, which cost him his life, rejected it on account of the League Covenant.

Complementary treaties between the Allied Powers and the other belligerents completed the Peace of Versailles—the Treaty of Saint Germain with Austria

(September 10, 1919), of the Trianon with Hungary (June 4, 1920), of Neuilly with Bulgaria (November 29, 1919), and finally, very late, the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey (July 24, 1923).

The biggest things which came about through the Peace of Versailles were the League of Nations, the realisation of nationality, and the disarmament of Germany.

The pre-war Concert of Europe was merely a rather vague understanding among the Powers, and could only have any effect when the Powers chose to act together. If, as happened in June-July, 1914, one or two of the Powers refused to meet or act in concert, nothing effective could be done to keep the peace. The disastrous experience of 1914 convinced all thoughtful men that instead of the vague and occasional Concert of the Powers a permanent standing international body should be instituted, which could be continually working for peace and which should be always at hand, prepared to act in any crisis. Therefore Part I. of the Treaty of Versailles is the Covenant of the League of Nations. This society of independent states operates through a permanent secretariat of international civil servants working at Geneva under a Director-General who appoints them; and through an Assembly of deputies of all the member-states, which meets annually at Geneva in the month of September; and through a Council consisting partly of permanent members and partly of temporary members chosen by the Assembly out of the member-states. The Council meets at Geneva or elsewhere four times a year, and oftener if needed. The total cost of the League is about 25,000,000 gold

francs (£1,000,000) contributed by assessments on the separate member-states. This League budget includes the expenses of the International Labour Office at Geneva and of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.

Nationality, like the peace-movement, was another tendency of European development in the nineteenth century, which reached a further stage through the war and the Treaty of Versailles. The Czechs, organised and led by Professor Masaryk, after exciting and highly dangerous experiences during the war, attained freedom and independence through the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy in October, 1918. This collapse also enabled the Yugoslavs (Southern Slavs) of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Banat to unite with their kinsmen the Yugoslavs of the Kingdom of Serbia. The disintegration of Russia, which experienced first a Liberal, next, a Bolshevik revolution in 1917, enabled the Poles subject to the Tsar to join with their brothers in Galicia and Posen to form the Republic of Poland, a mainly inland state, but reaching the Baltic through a broad corridor of land running down to the shore at Gdynia. The former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had been joined to Poland until the partitions of the eighteenth century, was also revived after the Peace of Versailles, as a separate, independent republic. To the north of Lithuania the Letts, Esths, and Finns all gained independent national status out of the collapse of the Tsardom. In the British Empire the Irish Free State was taken out of the United Kingdom and became a self-governing Dominion.

The third biggest result of the Treaty of Versailles,

the disarming of Germany, was explicitly stated (Part V., preamble) to be only a condition and preliminary of a general disarmament. Even considered in isolation by itself, the disarming of Germany, which is permitted to have an army of one hundred thousand long-service soldiers, is a tremendous gain to Europe; for Germany was formerly the greatest military state, the most convinced of the worthiness of arms, the most ruthless in "setting the pace" of armaments. Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary were also disarmed by treaty; the victor Powers have so far failed to reach an agreement for general disarmament, although individually they have reduced their forces.

The establishing of the League, the complete assertion of the national principle, and the disarming of Germany have gone far to give a new and more hopeful appearance to Europe. In addition, three other developments out of the old political system have given a fresh aspect to affairs.

One of these developments was the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy. This great and heterogeneous entity performed a notable service to Europe in keeping together in one economic as well as political union the huge Danubian region. The Monarchy, however, was internally unsound before the war; its various races were visibly approaching nearer and nearer to separation; the German-Austrian element was losing control in every department except the army. During the war the military (that is, the German-Austrian) element naturally regained control, but defeat shattered it at once. The Monarchy dissolved into the "Succession States," so that from this point of view the war might be called the Second War of

the Austrian Succession. For the time being Europe lost a valuable element of unity in the political structure of the Monarchy, but in the long run the Succession States, which have in fact so many common political and economic interests, may, without sacrificing their separate independence, contribute more to European stability than ever the Habsburg Monarchy did.

The establishment of a German Democratic Republic in place of the militarist-bureaucratic Empire of the Hohenzollerns is the most momentous political fact of the twentieth century. The last people to believe—and to act with marvellous effectiveness on the belief—in the infallibility of the militarist doctrine, suddenly turned over to parliamentary democracy, guided by sound bourgeois ideals. When the German people thus came into line with the normal political development of Western Europe, the last great barrier in the way of European international collaboration was removed.

While Central and Western Europe have been approaching steadily nearer to the "norm," which seems characteristic of European development over the last thousand years, the vast Empire of Russia has started the boldest, the most bizarre experiment in the history of society. Inspired by the communist doctrine of Karl Marx, the apostle of the Class-war, whose *Communist Manifesto* came out first in 1847, the Russian Bolshevik party took advantage of the war to overthrow the Tsarist state and to start a proletarian or one-class state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Union has, economically, been a failure, and the Communist industrial policy, although main-

tained with an energy and faith that extort admiration from the harshest critics, has had to be modified before the logic of facts. Politically the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has succeeded in maintaining itself, and in playing the part, not altogether beneficially, of a World-Power, outside the society of nations. This attitude, however, of aloofness and of antagonism cannot be permanently maintained in a world of which the relative dimensions, owing to the growth of population and the increasing ease of communication and transportation, are shrinking every day.

Europe, the heir of the civilisations of Greece and Rome, the repository of a continuous tradition of culture for the last two thousand years, the most fertile, the most highly equipped of continents, requires only among its various state-units political co-operation and economic collaboration to perpetuate its beneficent rôle of leader of the world.

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A HISTORY OF FRANCE

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By SISLEY HUDDLESTON



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A HISTORY OF FRANCE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE history of France is the history of the struggle for unification. The country, now the second largest in Europe, is provided with natural frontiers—the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the sea; and the struggle to attain and maintain these limits began as soon as national consciousness began. In the urge of expansion and the surge of invasion, the political configuration of the country constantly changed. Sometimes France pushed beyond her natural limits; but outside her proper territory France ultimately proved to be feeble. Sometimes large tracts of land were filched from France; but the invincible French spirit was immediately bent on their recovery. On the North and on the North-East, the frontiers are less clearly traced, and it is therefore on these sides that there has been the most frequent ebb and flow, the greatest indecision, and the most persistent confusion. Inside France there have been many warring peoples; yet they irresistibly tended to become one people. This was not because their origins were identical. The French are a mixture of many races—Ligurians, Gauls, Celts, Phœnicians, Iberians, Greeks, Franks, Romans, and many others; and a variety of types persist to our day, so that you would not mistake the men of Flemish blood for the men of Alsatian birth, or fail to see the difference between the Normans, the Bretons, the Provençals, the Gascons, and the Basques. Nevertheless, the process of

welding, from the earliest times to our own, has never ceased. When Germany was still a sprawling shapeless mass of several hundred unimportant States, France was already at the apex of power. Italy, though shaped by nature, is a nation of recent growth. Russia and the Balkan countries long remained—and are indeed to-day—ill-defined and inchoate.

CHAPTER II

PRE-ROMAN GAUL

FRANCE stands at the cross-roads of Europe and has been repeatedly overrun. She has experienced many vicissitudes, and often the forces of dissociation have, for longer or shorter periods, triumphed. But a common tradition, an exceptional power of assimilation, an instinctive solidarity, have always prevailed. Before the Celts, a warrior race, migrated from the East and settled beyond the Rhine, whence they overflowed into the British Isles, into Spain, and into Italy, where they sacked Rome itself, and along the Danube five or six centuries before the Christian era, Gaul had long been inhabited, as is attested by many remains; and the ethnical characteristics of the primitive population have surely been transmitted and constitute the common heritage of the French. More than a thousand years before Christ, the Phœnicians made their appearance on the Mediterranean coast, and perhaps in Brittany; while Marseilles was founded by the Greeks in 600 B.C. But the Celts, or Gauls, once they had settled, were distinguished by their love of the soil—precisely like the French peasant of to-day. There were

grave political divisions, but despite the multiplicity of chiefs there was essential unity of culture, for all the tribes respected the confraternity of Druids, who were priests, judges, physicians and teachers. They worshipped the phenomena of nature—mountains, rivers, stars, thunder, wind, trees, and especially the oak and the magical mistletoe. The Druids assembled every year in the exact centre of the country, and they imposed their laws, their administration, and their religion on the entire territory.

While the Gauls pushed into Italy (Italian Gaul was described as Cisalpine and French Gaul was Transalpine) the German peoples, in the third century, entered Gaul, preferring the fertile territory between the Pyrenees and the Rhine to their own territories of thick forest and marshland. The Cimbri and the Teutones reached the Rhône, where the Romans had already established a province about 110 B.C. They defeated the Roman armies, crossed the Pyrenees and fought the Celtiberians. The Consul Marius came with the finest Roman army to defend the Gallic province, and at Aix met the Barbarians and exterminated them. Rome saved Gaul from the Germans.

Rome did not at this time follow up her advantage and seek to throw her protection over the whole of Gaul. There were troubles at home, and for forty years the Republic was unable to pursue her triumphs. Gaul was repeatedly menaced by the Germanic hordes, and although the Gauls had, some hundreds of years earlier, occupied Rome itself, invaded Greece, and appeared in Asia,* they were now unable to resist the Suevi, who came from the North, and the Helvetii, who came from Switzerland, and were themselves harassed by the Germans.

The Gauls are described as blond and tall. The nobles wore long drooping moustaches. Their clothes were highly coloured and they displayed a love of jewellery. They were bellicose, but although they were

Rome helped to fortify the bonds which united the Gauls. Each community had its chiefs, its elected assemblies. Rome added a common assembly which sat at Lyons.

The Roman conquest brought about a radical transformation in the industrial and commercial life of Gaul. The Gauls had fought among themselves: now they peacefully cultivated their fields, developed their mining resources, manufactured textiles and ceramics, built towns with baths, theatres, triumphal arches, monumental gates and aqueducts, and constructed canals and ports. Gradually the Celtic tongue disappeared. The Latin letters were cultivated, and the poets, orators and historians of Gaul were famous throughout the Roman Empire. The gods of Gaul were confounded with the gods of Rome. Presently, however, Christianity spread into Gaul, though the Christians suffered persecution. In the fourth century the new religion triumphed, and the Christians, in official favour, attacked the ancient divinities and demolished the ancient temples. In the countryside the Celtic peasants were recalcitrant, and continued to worship the sacred trees, the sacred stones and the sacred fountains. Finally the Christian propagandists decided that the simplest method was to bless the fountains, stones and trees, and place them under the protection of the Cross. In the pagan temples the Christian saints were substituted for the pagan deities. While the calendar commemorated pagan gods, the Christian festivals were made to coincide with the Celtic festivals. For centuries pagan practices were continued, and, indeed, they still survive in customs whose significance is almost forgotten.

The decline of Roman power permitted the Barbarian invasion of the Gallo-Roman country. The German races, on a much lower level of culture, had been kept in check by the legions; and, as the Empire became impotent, the Gauls, who had lost their old war-

like virtues, were unable to offer effective resistance to the audacious tribes from beyond the Rhine. The Franks (heroes) were the first to establish themselves in Gaul. They had been allowed by Julian to remain about the Meuse. They were regarded as auxiliaries and allies. But in A.D. 406 came the great invasion. The Suevi, Vandals and Alans ravaged Gaul. The Burgundians took possession of land between Geneva and the Moselle. The Visigoths entered Southern Gaul. And behind the Franks of the North, the Burgundians of the East, and the Visigoths of the South, was a wave of still more barbaric peoples. The Huns, who had reached Europe from Central Asia, struck terror into the men of the West. Their King, Attila, crossed the Rhine with a mighty host. The "Scourge of God" advanced upon Orleans, destroying cities and massacring the population. The Gallo-Romans, Franks and other settlers rallied. A pitched battle was fought on the Catalaunian plains between Méry-sur-Seine and Châlons-sur-Marne. The Franks were the advance guard of the troops led by Aëtius, and so desperately did they fight the army of Attila that the Huns were defeated and withdrew into Germany. France, however, was in a chaotic state. Below the Loire were the Visigoths. The Burgundians had their kingdom between the Saône and the Rhône. The Armorican cities between the Loire and the Seine were independent. In the North-West Syagrius maintained a feeble Roman rule. The Alemanni were in the East. The Franks were in Belgium. But at the end of the fifth century even those invaders who had been barbarian were comparatively civilised and somewhat softened.

The Salian Franks were a comparatively small tribe and could hardly have hoped to dominate Gaul. But they were fierce warriors who worshipped Odin. They chose their King from the family of Meroveus; and in A.D. 481 this King was Clovis. He had an army of

not more than 5,000 men. Yet he defeated Syagrius at Soissons; and, his ambitions stirred, he set out from Tournai to obtain control of the whole of Northern France. Paris opposed his march. Sainte-Geneviève (a pious shepherdess who has become the patron saint of the French capital) stimulated the courage of the inhabitants of the city on the Seine. But a decisive event happened which forwarded the projects of Clovis and the small tribe of Salian Franks. The King married Clotilda, niece of the Burgundian King. She was a Catholic. The Bishops of Northern Gaul, looking upon Clovis as already a convert, opened to him the cities of Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, and Paris itself. In 496, the Alemanni, moving from the Vosges, menaced the new possessions of Clovis. He encountered them in a terrible combat at Tolbiac. In great peril, he besought the God of his wife to help him. His prayer was heard, and the Alemanni were driven back. So, in gratitude, Clovis accepted the Christian faith, and the Frankish nobles were baptised with him. The Pope himself hailed Clovis as the champion of the Faith in Gaul. With prudence and with skill, Clovis advanced from the Seine to the Loire. Then he took the region between the Loire and the Pyrenees, chasing the Visigoths into Spain. By a variety of ruses he captured region after region. His power grew until he was the King of all the Franks, reigning over the greater part of France. The Burgundians, between the Central Plateau and Switzerland, were his allies; and the Bretons of Armorica, though independent, were friendly.

The story of the Merovingian Kings who succeeded Clovis is stained on every page with blood. They divided up the country, killed each other, lost effective power and became *Rôis-Fainéants* (Do-Nothing Kings), governed by the Mayor of the Palace. They lived in the country, as did most of the nobles, Frank or Gallo-Roman, and town life diminished in im-

portance. There were no schools; the monks alone kept some vestiges of culture. The sixth and seventh centuries are among the most unhappy in human records. Civilisation seemed to have collapsed.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLEMAGNE AND FEUDALISM

IN the Germanic territories of the Franks there was a powerful family which obtained the supremacy in those regions, and, finally, in the Gallic territories also, to the detriment of the successors of Clovis. The Austrasian Dukes were veritably masters from A.D. 687. In the year 732 Charles Martel crushed the Mohammedans at Poitiers. The Saracens had conquered Africa and Spain. They crossed the Pyrenees and overran Narbonne, Carcassonne and Nîmes. They almost destroyed Bordeaux. They advanced on Burgundy and Poitou. The German and the Saracen invasions encountered each other in a battle which saved Christendom.

This victory confirmed the ascendancy of the Austrasians. The Duke of Aquitaine swore allegiance to Charles Martel, who then conquered Burgundy and Provence. His son, Pepin the Short, dethroned the Merovingian King. Pepin was elected at Soissons, and crowned, and the Pope approved of his annointment with Holy Oil. Pepin was succeeded by Charlemagne, one of the greatest princes of all time, who reigned for forty-four years. He created a mighty empire. Its frontiers were the Elbe, the Theiss and the Bosna in the East, the Garigliano in Italy and the Ebro in Spain. The Frankish Empire of Charle-

magne was twice as large as that which was left by Pepin. It is reckoned that he undertook more than fifty military expeditions. About the year 800 his conquests were complete, and in Rome he was crowned Emperor by the Pope himself. He was called Augustus. The Emperor of the West commanded the peoples of Italy, Germany and France. France might well have been submerged in a German Empire, but when the title of Emperor became a purely German title, France, unlike Italy, escaped from the domination of a foreign Cæsar. The Pope from this day regarded himself as the King-maker, and throughout the Middle Ages Imperial coronations could take place only in Rome.

Charlemagne deplored the general ignorance. He invited cultured men from England and Italy to live at his Court. He founded schools. He obliged the scribes to write legibly. The monks began to collect and to copy ancient manuscripts. There was a literary Renaissance.

After his death the Empire was disputed. Louis le Debonnaire looked on helplessly while his sons cut up the heritage. Lothaire received the title of Emperor, with Italy, Provence, and Austrasia between the Meuse and the Rhine; Louis received the Germanic territories to the East of the Rhine; and Charles, known as the Bald, received an elongated France. France lost its natural boundaries of the Rhine and the Alps, and the subsequent history of France to the nineteenth century largely turns on the efforts of successive kings to recover these frontiers. The Treaty of Verdun (843) by which this partition was accomplished was long regretted as destroying the unity of Christian Europe.

Now begins the true story of the French, as distinct from the story of the Gauls, the Gallo-Romans, and the Franks. The various races which composed the French people had been thrown into the crucible, with the exception of the Northmen; they had blended; they had a common tongue; they had a clearly defined

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and separate kingdom, although the Bretons and the Basques claimed independence. Then came the Northmen, or Normans, from the Scandinavian countries. In the ninth century they were particularly aggressive. Charles the Bald tried to buy them off, and Charles the Simple decided to cede Neustria to the Norman chief Rollo (911). During the period of Norman invasions the feudal system was being prepared, and the Empire of Charlemagne, or rather the French portion of it, was a conglomeration of regional states governed by dukes and earls and lesser seigneurs—a hierarchy of serfs, freemen and lords bound to each other by a sort of contract. This feudal system was to last from the tenth to the fifteenth century.

The collapse of the Empire of Charlemagne established feudalism, but the system had existed in a less conspicuous form even in the days of Rome. Now it was imposed upon France by the feebleness of the kings. The King was without army, without authority and without an organised administrative hierarchy; and invaders rendered life insecure. In these circumstances, if security could be purchased, even liberty was not too high a price to pay. The weaker paid homage to the stronger; they would serve him in exchange for his protection. The stronger turned to those who were still stronger. The earls—and for that matter the bishops—became kings in their own domain. The régime arose out of necessity, and there is no doubt that at the beginning it was popular. But it pressed onerously on the humblest, and the lords were apt to forget their duties and to exaggerate their privileges. Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Flanders, Champagne, Brittany, Anjou, Provence, Dauphiné—these were veritable States which could make war against each other; and over the higher nobles the King had little or no control. For many generations the French Kings were to fight against Feudalism in an effort to bring the Barons into subjection. During

the Carolingian decadence, Feudalism was fastened more firmly on the German countries than on France, and it took longer to overthrow it. Moreover, since the German Emperor was elected, the Pope contrived to maintain his supremacy over the Empire through the German Dukes; and though the German succession to the Roman Empire may have been flattering for these Dukes and the Emperor himself, it prevented the growth of national consciousness, and by giving a false centre of gravity to the Empire prevented the formation of Germany. France was concerned with her own growth, while Germany was concerned not with herself but with Christendom. The alliance of the Pope and the Emperor, in an imaginary government, permitted German Feudalism to produce anarchy, while French Feudalism was becoming national.

Feudalism was based upon the social conception that there should be men who fought, men who prayed, and men who worked. The combatant chiefs had need of followers and servants; and this implied their possession of a certain degree of wealth. Only the landed proprietors had the means of equipping warriors, and to these warriors the proprietor granted morsels of land. Such beneficiaries, although the vassals of the seigneurs, might themselves be noble; and the grand-seigneurs themselves were nominally the vassals of the King. At a later period the nobles clustered about the Court, but in these Carolingian centuries they lived on their estates. In Gallo-Roman times their residences were pleasure-houses. In Frankish times they were great farmhouses. Now they became châteaux, or castles. Usually they were built on the hillside. In the centre was a tower, a donjon, which was the last refuge. It is curious to note that the Edict of Pistes, as early as 864, called for the destruction of castles on the ground that they had become the resort of robbers, and that the people of the neighbourhood thereby suffered great vexations and pillages. In fact, the seigneurs

themselves were soon veritable brigands. From the peasants they extorted heavy payments, and generally the condition of the dependents was miserable. The serfs were attached to the soil. They could not leave their village; they could not marry without permission; their children belonged to their masters. They could not bequeath property—everything went to the seigneur. The freemen could go where they pleased, could marry and bequeath their property, but upon them were laid formidable charges. They were bound to work on the land of the seigneur without remuneration. They were bound to pay tribute in cash and in kind. They were bound to grind their corn in the mill of the seigneur, to bake their bread in his oven, to press their grapes and their olives in his *pressoir*—and naturally they had to pay for all these operations. The seigneur administered justice—at a price. On the bridges and roads the seigneurs collected tolls. The Roman towns had disappeared, or, sadly diminished, they belonged to the seigneurs—sometimes to an earl, a bishop, or even the King. The inhabitants were mostly poor artisans. When later they became strong enough, they obtained charters which fixed their obligations and limited the rights of their masters. Some of them formed little communes which governed themselves. They were, so to speak, their own seigneurs. Moreover, the merchants organised themselves in guilds and an industrial hierarchy sprang up.

The Church was independently organised. Bishops were established in the old Roman towns. They often possessed large domains. The clergy lived under their own laws. In the countryside were monasteries. The authority of the Church was both temporal and spiritual. It possessed land and serfs. It had its special tribunals. It levied taxes. It became rich. It kept the nobles and even the sovereign in awe. It encouraged learning; and the University, in its origins, was the daughter of the Church.

CHAPTER V

THE CAPETIANS

THE King of France was a mere figure-head. Yet there was a long struggle for the Crown. Count Eudes, who had defended Paris against the Normans, and had taken the title of Duke of France, was the ancestor of the Capetians who drove out the Carolingians, and who reigned—they and their heirs—over France for eight hundred years. But Eudes was only recognised between the Loire and the Meuse. When he was elected King there were half a dozen other Kings in France. He induced the Duke of Aquitaine to acknowledge him, but neither the King of Lorraine nor the King of Burgundy swore fealty. Besides, Charles the Simple, a Carolingian, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Rheims in 893. After a short civil strife, Eudes died, his brother Robert inherited the Duchy of France, and Charles the Simple was accepted as King. Charles promptly gave away Normandy; and met with other misfortunes. For several generations the Carolingian family was menaced by the family of the Dukes of France; and in 987 Hugues Capet was chosen by Lords and Bishops at Noyon as the French Monarch. He caused his son likewise to be elected in his lifetime, and thus assured the hereditary succession. But his descendants were small figures. Louis VI., who came to the throne in 1108, was the first who played a prominent part in chastising the pillaging lords. He married his son to the princess who was to inherit Aquitaine. Thus was the royal domain extended. But Louis VII. and Eleanor quarrelled during the Crusades, and Eleanor afterwards married Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, and successor of William the Conqueror who had set out to secure the English Crown in 1066. Henry was now the heir to

the English Crown, and when he took up his heritage in 1154 and married one of his sons to the only daughter of the ruler of Brittany he controlled almost the whole of Western France.

Those Crusades, which began in 1096, helped the French Kings in that they served to break up the power of the feudal lords. The lords were obliged to abandon their prerogatives to raise money for the far-off expedition. Further, in their absence they were often impoverished. They learned, too, to respect their humble comrades in arms. Again, the French brought back many trades from the East. New plants were introduced. Arabian figures came into use. Geography, physics, chemistry, and mathematics were studied. The science of navigation was better understood. French ports acquired a new importance. The intellectual horizon was widened, and the social consequences of the Crusades were altogether incalculable.

Philip Augustus (1180), though he went to the Crusades with Richard Cœur-de-Lion, on his return took Normandy from his vassal, and set to work to drive the English King from the continent. He greatly extended the effective domain of the Crown. Louis VIII. brought the South of France into subjection.

Louis IX., known as Saint Louis, began to reign in 1236. He was beautiful and brave, was unusually cultured, and was exceedingly pious. He is the best type of the Christian and Feudal King. The popular picture shows him sitting under an oak, judging whatever cases are brought before him. He held the Jews in horror. He prohibited private wars. From the Holy Land he brought back sacred relics. Pope, Emperor, and Kings appealed to him as an arbiter.

Philip the Fair (1285) acted with remarkable vigour. He adopted the doctrine that the King was the State. He rigorously commanded obedience from the seigneurs, and was the first king who seriously tried to batter down Feudalism as an enemy of Royal power.

Against the Templars who formed a State within the State he proceeded pitilessly. He caused their goods to be confiscated; he had them condemned and burnt as heretics. Even against the Pope he opposed his own authority. He arrested the Papal legate. He burnt the Papal Bull which held that kings were the subjects of the Pope. In support of his contention he convoked a meeting of barons, bishops, and representatives of the towns. In this convocation (1303) historians have seen the origins of the States-General—that is to say, of the French Parliament. The assembly urged the King not to recognise any sovereign but God. The Pope replied by excommunicating Philip. The King retaliated by accusing him of being unworthy of his office and by sending emissaries to demand his abdication and to take him prisoner. Two years later a French prelate became Pope, and transferred the Pontifical Court to Avignon, where it remained for seventy years.

CHAPTER VI

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

WHAT may properly be called the modern world might well have dated from the thirteenth century had not devastating wars checked the remarkable development of commerce, industry, letters, and art. In France the Monarchy had been greatly strengthened. The Kings deliberately leaned on the "Third Estate," instead of on the nobles, and the citizens of "good towns" were citizens of the King. These citizens had special privileges which they preserved everywhere. They did not fall under the jurisdiction of the nobles. The bourgeois and the King were allies, and Feudalism was

already menaced. At the same time the industrial corporations enjoyed, in their own domain, real autonomy, and eventually became powerful. Famous fairs, frequented by the merchants of many countries, were founded. The old Roman laws were revived, and able lawyers directed the struggle against feudal customs. It was ordained that the money struck by the lords should not be legal tender outside their estates, while the King's money was legal tender throughout France. Students began to flock to Paris and other towns; and knowledge began to be secularised. The French language emerged from its Latin form, and the vulgar tongue was spread by the *trouvères*. French prose was employed to record the history of the Crusades. Gothic architecture triumphed. The rounded arches were now pointed and raised; and the cathedrals of Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Chartres, and Rheims were built. The slender Sainte-Chapelle of Saint Louis furnishes the most striking contrast with the old massive Roman architecture. Louis X. (1314) made a declaration that according to the law of nature all men are born free—and although serfdom was long to linger it now declined. The Kings issued letters of nobility to commoners, thus breaking down the exclusive aristocracy which depended on the overlordship of land. The States-General was convoked on several occasions, and a privy council with officers of the crown was instituted.

This progress was interrupted by the Hundred Years' War and confusion returned. Philip VI. of Valois, cousin of the preceding King, Charles IV., and nephew of Philip the Fair, obtained the crown in virtue of the Salic law which denied the rights of female heirs. Edward III., King of England, grandson of Philip the Fair by his mother Isabella, claimed the French Crown. In 1328 circumstances compelled him to forego his claim, but in 1336 circumstances changed, and the English King took up arms. The war dragged on in Flanders; the French fleet was destroyed by

Edward. In 1346 Edward landed with an army in Normandy and advanced towards Paris. Philip forced him to retreat, but at Crecy the French were routed. Then Edward besieged Calais, which, after a long resistance, fell into English hands, and remained in their possession for two hundred years. In 1356 the son of the English King—the Black Prince—resumed the war against France, where John the Good had succeeded to the throne. There was a third claimant, Charles, King of Navarre, a descendant of Louis X. whose surname was the Bad. At Poitiers a battle was fought and John the Good was taken prisoner.

The States-General met in Paris. The Third Estate, under the leadership of Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants, numbered no fewer than four hundred representatives. Money was badly needed and the provost took advantage of the situation to present a list of grievances. The demands of the assembly were granted in the Great Ordinance of 1357. It was agreed that the States-General were to meet twice a year and their delegates were to form a council which would assist in the administration of the kingdom. Taxes were to be voted and raised by the States themselves. They were to have control of the army. Justice was to be regularly dispensed. Various abuses of Royal power were abolished. Unfortunately these reforms were inopportune. The English were everywhere victorious in France. The nobles armed against Paris. The peasants rose against the nobles, and the terrible scenes of the Jacquerie were enacted. The Dauphin Charles put down the revolt, but the condition of the country was now utterly miserable. John the Good treated with the English King, abandoning the Channel coast and the whole of Aquitaine, with Touraine and Anjou. Half of France was ceded to England. But the Dauphin refused to execute the treaty of his father. Edward began a new expedition against France. The burghers, adopting "passive resistance," remained in

their towns and the nobles in their castles. Without battle nothing could be gained, and battle was refused. On the peasants fell the brunt of this invasion. Edward grew weary, and eventually both sides agreed, at the Conference of Bretigny (1360), that the English King should have the Duchy of Aquitaine with its dependencies, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, Perigord, Limousin, Angoumois, the town of Calais and other places. John was ransomed, but on learning that his son, the Duke of Anjou, had escaped from the English who held him as hostage, he decided that he was in honour bound to surrender himself in the stead of his son. This was his pleasant way of escaping from the difficulties which beset him in France. He went to enjoy the hospitality of London, and there died while his people were starving.

Before he died he delivered the Duchy of Burgundy to his fourth son, Philip the Bold—an act which was almost fatal to France, for the Burgundy House was to bring civil war to the unhappy country.

Charles V., known as the Wise (1364-1380), harassed the English with the aid of Constable Duguesclin, and succeeded in regaining much of what had been lost at Bretigny. He encouraged the Third Estate and was responsible for important legislative reforms. But when he died his son Charles VI. was a minor, and his uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Burgundy and Berry, misgoverned France. When the boy-king came of age his love of pleasure brought on insanity. His uncles regained power. There was a period of corruption and debauchery. The brother of the King, Louis of Orleans, was assassinated by the Duke of Burgundy. Thereupon Louis' father-in-law, Bernard d'Armagnac, vowed to avenge his death. His followers were the Armagnacs. The followers of the Duke of Burgundy were the Burgundians. The people ranged themselves with the Burgundians, for the Duke professed himself to be against new taxation and tyranny. Nobles sup-

ported Armagnac. It was chiefly from the South that the Armagnac army was recruited, and that of Burgundy from the North and East. Patriotism was still very feeble: both sides solicited English support. Paris fell alternately under the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. Henry V. of England, seizing this favourable moment, claimed the French Crown. At Agincourt (1415) the French, led by Armagnac, were defeated. But the Armagnacs at Paris had control of the King and the Dauphin. Burgundy marched on Paris and captured the King; the Dauphin escaped. Meanwhile the English had conquered Normandy, while the Dauphin had placed himself in command of the Armagnacs. There were negotiations for united action against the English between the Dauphin and Burgundy, but Burgundy was also negotiating with Henry V. Burgundy was assassinated, whereupon the Burgundians definitely joined the English and concluded the Treaty of Troyes by which Henry V. was recognised as the heir to the French throne.

Henry V. of England and the demented Charles VI. of France died in the same year—1422—and the English King Henry VI. was proclaimed King of France at Saint-Denis.

The position of the French Dauphin appeared to be hopeless. He ruled only the central provinces and was called in derision the King of Bourges. Then appeared Joan of Arc. She was a peasant born at Domremy, in Lorraine. Deeply pious, grieved by the unhappy state of France, she heard voices conferring upon her the mission of delivering Orleans, attacked by the English, and of taking the Dauphin to Rheims to be crowned. St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret appeared to her. Implicitly believing in these saints, she dressed in men's clothes, and went to Chinon, where was the Dauphin. Her ardour gave new hope to the followers of Charles VII., and led by Joan of Arc they raised the siege of Orleans. The King was consecrated at

Rheims (1429). She was wounded in fighting before Paris and at Compiègne was taken prisoner. Abandoned by the King, she was sold by the Burgundians to the English. Tried by an ecclesiastical court she was convicted of heresy and sorcery. On May 30, 1431, she was burnt in the market-place at Rouen.

Nevertheless, Joan of Arc had awakened patriotism. The Duke of Burgundy came to terms with the French King and Charles was invited to re-enter Paris. His troops were victorious at Formigny, and Normandy was rewon. Guienne was regained at Castillon. In 1453 the Hundred Years' War ended, and France was once more a united country.

CHAPTER VII

THE RENAISSANCE

LOUIS XI. (1461-1483) cunningly set to work further to weaken the great feudal nobles. They were certainly vassals of the King but they behaved with insolence. In particular the Duke of Burgundy, with whom Louis had taken refuge after the suppression of the revolt against his father Charles VII. (which Louis had himself raised), believed that he could assert his independence with perfect impunity. But Louis, who had made use of the nobles, now deprived them of many of their powers. His ministers were of the middle classes and his friends of the lower classes. Always was he unscrupulous. He practised a policy of realism. It is impossible to admire his character, but he did much to consolidate the territorial unity of his kingdom. He protected commerce and industry and organised a number of Universities. In his reign print-

ing was introduced into France; and the Middle Ages may be said to have ended.

With Louis XII. began the Renaissance. He constructed châteaux and encouraged Italian artists. His successor was his cousin François d'Angoulême. François I. deliberately set to work to re-establish Absolute Monarchy. "I am 'the King; I must be obeyed; take my orders to my Parliament of Paris.'" When the magistrates hesitated, he exclaimed: "If to-morrow before six o'clock they have not left Amboise, I will have them seized and thrown into dungeons for six months." On documents, before his signature, he wrote the words: "For such is our good pleasure."

He reigned from 1515 to 1547. This first half of the sixteenth century is an age of transition. Extraordinary changes were being brought about. The nobles consoled themselves for the loss of their independence by regarding François as the King of Gentlemen. They were content to be courtiers. The higher Clergy were nominated by the King and were likewise, for the most part, courtiers. The middle classes did not oppose Absolute Monarchy, for they were allowed to purchase offices, and there was created a nobility of the robe. The lot of the peasants was improved. As for the artisans, they greatly increased in numbers.

The Renaissance was largely the result of the Italian wars. France did not conquer Italy, but Italy by its arts conquered France. Charles VIII. and Louis XII. were ambitious and they both entered the Italian provinces and both abandoned them. François I. also penetrated into Italy; and the great struggle for supremacy between the Houses of France and Austria dominated French foreign policy. For the moment there chiefly came out of these expeditions a taste for the ancient civilisation which long before had manifested itself in Italy:

After the victory of Marignan, which enabled François to enter Milan, the French King cherished the

hope of becoming the most powerful of Christian Kings. He desired to be elected Emperor on the death of the Emperor Maximilian, but, although he made handsome gifts to the seven Imperial Electors of Germany, they preferred the King of Spain, Charles, who became Emperor under the name of Charles-Quint. The dream of grandeur vanished—the old Empire of Charlemagne could not now be revived in favour of France. What was worse, the Germanic Empire was an unquestionable menace to France. The Emperor was master of Spain, of Italian territories, of the Low Countries, of Austria, and of the States which composed Germany. He had an alliance with the Pope and with Henry VIII. of England. Mexico and Peru came under his sway. France alone was an obstacle to his attainment of almost unprecedented power.

In 1525 François was beaten at Pavia by the treacherous Constable Bourbon. He was taken prisoner. "All is lost save honour," is the popular summary of François' letter to his mother. But France was not lost. Her King was a captive, but Louise of Savoy, his mother, governed as Regent. François himself was taken to Madrid, where Charles-Quint compelled him to sign a treaty (1526) by which Burgundy was ceded to Charles, and by which France renounced claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois. François promised to marry the Emperor's sister, the Queen-Dowager of Portugal. But François had secretly protested against the violence done to him. A prisoner could not be held to promises made under duress. As soon as he was free he cried: "I am again a King"; and the notables of his kingdom decided that his act was null and void. With all the enemies of Charles France entered into alliance. The Turks were attacking Austria and the Mohammedans from Northern Africa were attacking Italy and Spain. The Lutheran Germans were the cause of civil war in the Empire. François cared little

for religious considerations in foreign affairs. His diplomacy was purely secular. The alliance of the Fleur de Lys and the Crescent was thought scandalous, but François was not disturbed. Although he was to persecute the Protestants in France, he did not object to an association with the German Protestant princes. At the same time he reorganised the Gallican Church, signing a concordat with the Pope.

With varying fortunes the King and the Emperor fought each other. But the reign of François was marked by a splendid efflorescence of literature and art. He patronised French and Italian artists. He created the Collège de France, thus permitting education to flourish outside the control of the clergy. More and more did the nobles rally round the Court, and the magnificence of that Court was a subject of universal astonishment.

There had been a decadence in letters. In the fifteenth century one finds, it is true, Villon, one of the finest and most poignant poets that France has produced; and Philippe de Commines, with his love of large historical synthesis. But there was little else, until the Court surrounded itself with men of erudition, poets, and artists. Rabelais, who lived from 1483 to 1553, despite his enormous Gallic laugh, drew his inspiration from antiquity. Amyot translated Plutarch. Clément Marot took for model Greek and Latin masters. The Pléiade, seven young poets, of whom Ronsard is the chief, united with the intention of giving France a literature equal to that of Greece and Rome. Montaigne (1533-1592) in his *Essays* is a great artist who has nourished himself on the ancients. In painting, Italian influences appeared from the fifteenth century in Jean Fouquet and Jean Perréal; but they were most pronounced when François I. called Leonardo da Vinci to Touraine, and afterwards, with the help of admirable Italian artists, founded "the school of Fontainebleau." Nevertheless the best of all

the French painters of the time—François Clouet—resisted the movement; nor did Bernard Palissy succumb to the Italian mode in his beautiful ceramics. In sculpture Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon were affected by Michael Angelo. The architecture of the new châteaux was likewise influenced by Italy. Pierre Lescot and Philibert Delorme, who worked on the Louvre and the Tuileries, had lived and learned in Italy, but they evolved a distinctive style, noble and elegant. Jurisprudence and the sciences were greatly advanced by the Renaissance.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION

IN the sixteenth century came the Reformation. It was a consequence of the awakened spirit of curiosity. The invention of printing produced unexpected results. Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama went on voyages of discovery, Copernicus discovered laws of the universe. Upon the Church, now reactionary and corrupt, were bent the critical faculties of theological thinkers. Luther began his struggle with Rome, and a large part of Germany accepted his ideas. In France the same ideas struck root. Calvin, a Frenchman, was born in 1509. He took refuge in Geneva, which became the headquarters of Protestantism. François at first was not hostile to the Reformation, but presently he saw that a revolt against Papacy could be transformed into a revolt against Royal authority. The Lutherans were persecuted. The Vaudois were massacred. Etienne Dolet,

the famous humanist, was burnt in the Place Maubert at Paris.

Henri II. succeeded his father in 1547. He was a handsome man who excelled in physical exercises, but was without intellect or character. He neglected the Queen Catherine de Medicis, and was in subjection to Diane de Poitiers. The ministers of François were dismissed and power was given to the Constable Montmorency and the Duc de Guise of the House of Lorraine. They disposed of all places and favours. The Guises regarded themselves as the descendants of Charlemagne, and their ambitions knew no bound. Meanwhile, Protestantism, under the influence of Calvin, became a serious force in France. On Sundays the Protestants sang their hymns in the Pré-aux-Clercs at Paris. Among them were the King of Navarre (afterwards Henri IV.) and his brother Condé. Admiral Coligny was one of the chiefs of the heretics. Persecution did not stay the progress of this movement, and Henri II. decided on drastic action. But at this moment, in a tournament (1559) at which the King insisted on breaking a lance with Montgomery, Captain of his Guards, he was accidentally killed; and the Protestants saw in this timely event the hand of Providence.

His son, François II., a feeble young man, succeeded him, and the rival Lorraine Princes were more audacious than ever. The Calvinists entered into a conspiracy to take the King out of the hands of the Guises, but their leaders, including princes of the blood royal, were captured by the Guises.

The young King died, and Catherine acted as Regent. Her son, Charles IX., was only ten years old. The Chancellor Michel de L'Hospital tried to reconcile the Huguenots, as the Protestants were named, and the Papists. Catherine authorised the Huguenots to worship outside the towns. Thereupon Montmorency, Saint-André, and Guise determined to strike a blow

for Catholicism—and for themselves. The Duke François de Guise, passing by Vassy in Champagne, fell upon an assembly of Protestants, and killed two hundred of them. His example was imitated. So began the Wars of Religion.

The Calvinists themselves were not loath. They violated the churches. They threw down the crucifixes. They even profaned the sepulchres. In the South-West of France Protestants were murdered, thrown into wells, hung to the branches of trees. In the South-East, a Calvinist baron pillaged and killed the Catholics. Several pitched battles were fought. Catherine herself appears to have been indifferent to the issue of the religious combat; and victories of Coligny and Henri de Navarre induced her to accord a peace favourable to the Protestants. They were permitted to possess strongholds. Charles, as he grew up, was friendly with Coligny, who was anxious to reconcile the warring factions and to present a united front against the Spanish in the Low Countries. But political intrigues caused Catherine to range herself with the Guises in opposition to Coligny. On August 2, 1572, a man named Maurevert, at the instance of the Guises, fired on Coligny. This was the signal for the massacres of St. Bartholomew. On the following night the body of Coligny was thrown from the window of his house, and the Catholics ran amuck through Paris, slaying thousands of Huguenots. In the provinces, too, there were terrible scenes. But the Protestants took up arms, and presently the King was obliged to grant them the peace of La Rochelle, by which their liberty of conscience was assured (1573). The following year the remorseful King, tormented by dreadful visions, died in the arms of his Huguenot nurse.

From Poland, there journeyed back to France, Henri, Catherine's favourite son, who had been chosen by the Poles as their King. He carried with him some

of the crown jewels. Henri was an effeminate creature, who surrounded himself with young men, bejewelled and perfumed. The French were scandalised at the *mignons* and their manners. Then it was that Henri de Navarre escaped from Paris and put himself at the head of the Protestants. The Catholics were kept in a state of agitation by the Guises, who were encouraged in their intransigence by reason of the fact that the King had no children, and his legitimate successor was the Protestant Henri de Navarre. The clergy and the people of Paris were at once hostile to the effeminate Catholic King and to his prospective Protestant successor. The King gave to a third Henri—Henri de Guise—an army to fight the mercenary troops which came from Germany to serve with Henri de Navarre; but he was alarmed when Guise was victorious. For Guise entered Paris as a hero. The Parisians began to throw up barricades. The King was panic-stricken and fled to Blois. He pretended to seek a reconciliation with Guise, but as the Duke entered the Royal apartments he was stabbed by the Royal guards. It was soon the turn of the King to be assassinated. The way was clear for Henri de Navarre.

CHAPTER IX

TOWARDS ABSOLUTISM

HENRI DE NAVARRE, now Henry IV., did not come into his kingdom without pains. He did not at first even try to enter Paris. He proceeded by way of Normandy. The Catholic Leaguers, with Spanish troops, tried to dislodge him from Dieppe. Henri won the Battle of Arques (1589) and a year later he again met

the Leaguers under Mayenne at Ivry. Once more he triumphed. He marched on Paris. It was suffering from famine. Spaniards likewise marched on Paris to encounter Henri, who considered it prudent to withdraw. But the Leaguers could not agree among themselves on the choice of a King. Finally, Henri decided to abjure Protestantism for the sake of a throne. "Paris is worth a Mass," he cried, and he then became effectively King.

The Wars of Religion which were in reality largely wars for the throne had ended; but misery and anarchy remained. There was a long struggle with rebellious governors of the provinces. It was not easy to rid France of the Spaniards. Order was restored slowly. In 1598, Henri, who had satisfied the Catholics, also satisfied the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes. By this edict the Protestants were permitted to practise their cult wherever they pleased. They were eligible for all posts. They could keep their strongholds but they must not have relations with foreign powers.

In his entourage were Catholics and Protestants. Mere idle courtiers he sent back to their estates. His principal minister was Sully, who administered the finances and prosecuted those who were guilty of speculation. Sully encouraged agriculture rather than industry, but he improved the roads, the canals and the ports. Henri himself stimulated the silk industry and the manufacture of glass and tapestry. He knew how to make himself respected and to put down conspiracies. He dreamed of the destruction of the Austrian House by reshaping Europe. There were to be six kingdoms—France, Spain, England, Sweden, Denmark and Lombardy; five elective States—Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, the Empire and the Papacy; four Republics—Venice, Genoa-Florence, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Europe as a whole would be a great Republic. It should have a Supreme Council on which would sit representatives of all the States. The duty of

this council should be to prevent wars—to substitute international law for the use of force. In other words, Henri projected a League of Nations. Moreover, he laid down the principle of nationality—the chief test of nationality to be language. Whatever Henri's motives were, the Great Design perished, as Henri perished, under the knife of the assassin Ravaillac (1610).

Louis XIII, his son, was ten years of age. Though he did not die till 1643 he never really reigned. In his youth his mother, Marie de Medicis, was Regent, and she was controlled by the Florentine adventurer, Concini, who assumed the title of Maréchal d'Ancre. Concini took money for himself and distributed it to a crowd of nobles. But these nobles were insatiable, and they revolted. Condé, Mayenne, Longueville and others received huge grants. The last meeting of the States-General before the Revolution was called in 1614; it was the occasion for quarrels, and it accomplished nothing. In 1617 Concini was assassinated. Albert de Luynes took over the government of France, but his principal purpose was spoliation. In 1624 Armand du Plessis, Cardinal and Duc de Richelieu, was chosen as the minister of the King, and for eighteen years he was supreme.

"I promised," he said, "to use all my energies and all the authority given me by the King to ruin the Huguenot party, to lower the pride of the great, to reduce the King's subjects to the fulfilment of their duties." This mission he carried out and he placed France in the forefront of nations.

The Protestants had already lost all their strongholds with the exception of the most important—La Rochelle. This port was protected by land and sea. In it the Protestants could receive foreign aid. The English offered such aid, but Louis XIII., accompanied by Richelieu, besieged the place and, after a resistance of thirteen months, captured it. An expedition in the

Cevennes completed the subjugation of the Protestants. But Richelieu was wise enough, when a Protestant party that could possibly endanger the State no longer existed, to proclaim again the Edict of Nantes.

Against the nobles he acted with the same vigour. Castles which he deemed dangerous were razed. An edict was issued against duelling, and when it was broken by the highest nobles Richelieu had them decapitated. Plots against the King were sternly repressed. When Marie de Medicis attempted to come between the King and his minister, Richelieu exiled her; and Anne of Austria, the Queen, was confined in Val-de-Grace. Montmorency, the brother-in-law of the Prince de Condé, raised an army for Gaston d'Orleans, brother of the King. He was promptly executed. Cinq-Mars, a young favourite of the King, dreamed of replacing Richelieu, and signed a secret treaty with Spain. He was tried and condemned.

A highly centralised Monarchical State was constructed by Richelieu. There was a Council to prepare the laws. There were Intendants to administer them. Councillors and Intendants depended on the King—that is to say, on Richelieu—and if they were not obedient were dismissed. An army and a navy were organised under the direct command of the King. Parliament was reminded that it had no political rights but existed merely for judicial purposes. Richelieu developed the colonies. He made use of the Press; he employed men of letters. He was an implacable despot who compared the people to mules who are spoiled by rest rather than by work. He increased taxation and when the peasants complained he sent the army against them.

His foreign policy was based on the assertion that France should have the same boundaries as ancient Gaul. By clever diplomacy and by military interventions he largely achieved his object. A Catholic, he made use of Protestant allies. Standing for Absolute

Monarchy, he made use of Republican allies. The Thirty Years' War which had begun in 1618 was raging. Imperial armies had endeavoured to suppress German liberties. It appeared possible that Germany would be united under the Austrian House. Now the chief tenet of French diplomacy was that Germanic unity should never be permitted. Richelieu worked for the German Protestants. He brought about the dismissal of the great soldier Wallenstein. He subsidised Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who fell like a thunderbolt upon the Empire. Then France came actively into the war, with varying fortunes. Alsace and Artois were taken; Roussillon was added to France; Spain and Austria were enfeebled.

Richelieu founded the French Academy (1635), reconstructed the Sorbonne, established a printing press, set up the Jardin des Plantes. Corneille produced *Le Cid* and Descartes his *Discourse on Method*. At the end of 1642 Richelieu died, and the King did not survive him more than six months.

CHAPTER X

LOUIS XIV

ABSOLUTISM had been made by Richelieu, but it remained for Louis XIV. to enjoy it without intermediary. Yet the beginning of the Sun-King's reign was extremely unpromising, and his youth was unhappy. He was five years of age when his father died, and his mother, Anne of Austria, called the Italian Mazarin to power. Against Mazarin there was much opposition, aristocratic, Parliamentary, and popular. It was deemed humiliating that a foreigner should

rule France, and several times Parliament decreed his banishment and outlawed him. The finances were in dire straits, and taxation was oppressive. The nobles thought only of serving their personal interests, and changed sides repeatedly. Parliament was vacillating. Yet the Fronde—so-called from the slings (*frondes*) used by street urchins for stone-throwing—was undoubtedly dangerous. It was the forerunner of the Revolution, but it was inspired by no clear idea, and directed by no resolute leader. Louis and his mother were driven from the capital and trailed in the wake of armies. Mazarin was forced to fly. But eventually sheer weariness brought the Fronde to an end, and Mazarin was all-powerful. He died in 1661. His first diplomatic triumph was the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years' War; by it the German princes were confirmed in their independence of the Emperor, while France continued the occupation of Lorraine, obtained Alsace with the exception of Strasburg, besides a footing on the right bank of the Rhine, secured the renunciation of Imperial rights in the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and consolidated her position at Pignerol. His last diplomatic triumph was the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1658), by which France retained Artois, Cerdagne and Roussillon, and by which the Spanish Infanta, Marie-Thérèse, married the French King. The latter treaty long afterwards involved France in disastrous warfare. The Infanta renounced the succession of Spain on condition that her dower was paid. It was, as Mazarin shrewdly calculated, never paid; and France was therefore free to claim the Spanish succession.

As soon as Mazarin died, Louis, after his wretched boyhood, declared he would govern alone. This would have been a surprising statement had it come from the best educated prince, most carefully prepared for his Kingly functions. As it was, coming from a

neglected, ignorant young man of twenty-two, it was astounding. There is to be seen in this decision a violent reaction against the excessive subordination in which he had been kept. Louis' reign, despite his admirers, was filled with the most grotesque diplomatic blunders, most of them arising from his inordinate pride. He challenged Europe in mere wantonness. When he needed help he alienated those who might have been his allies. He plunged gaily into war without counting the cost, and his love of magnificence was ruinous.

His love affairs have particularly attracted the attention of posterity: his youthful attachment to Marie Mancini, niece of Mazarin; his liaison with the sweet Louise de la Vallière; his adultery with Madame de Montespan, who was audacious, arrogant and wicked, and whose illegitimate sons were placed by Louis on a footing of equality with the Princes of the Royal blood; and, finally, his secret marriage with Madame de Maintenon, the widow of Scarron, the comic poet, and for some time governess of the King's irregular offspring.

The age of Louis is ornamented by such great writers as Molière, La Fontaine, Boileau and Racine; by such orators as Bourdaloue, Bossuet and Fenelon. Pascal, Madame de Sévigné, La Rochefoucauld, and many others made the literary influence of France in Europe unrivalled. In painting, there were such painters as Poussin, Le Sueur, Claude Lorrain and Le Brun. The great sculptor Puget produced his masterpieces. Lulli was the Court musician. Mansart and Perrault were distinguished architects, and Le Nôtre was a genius who created the science of artistic gardening. Louis never ceased to construct splendid palaces, of which the chief is Versailles, designed by Le Vau and Mansart. There he insisted on the strictest etiquette. He could not rise, eat, or go to bed, except in the presence of his courtiers and with a wealth

of formalities. The nobles lived on their estates only when they were in disgrace. Their business was to dance attendance on the King. For Louis monarchy was a divine institution. He was the representative of God. He was the master of his subjects and the proprietor of their goods.

Colbert was the plodding servant of Louis. He brought some order in the finances, he developed many industries, he founded colonial companies and he gave France a fleet. Louvois reformed the army and was always pushing Louis towards war. Vauban, a great military engineer, built ports and forts, and showed how fortresses could be taken with almost mathematical precision. The two best generals were the Grand Condé and Turenne. In 1667 Louis made war in Flanders against Spain. In 1672 he invaded Holland, but provoked coalitions against France; the war became general; it was concluded by the Treaty of Nimwegen in 1678. France obtained Franche-Comté and a number of towns in the Low Countries. After peace was concluded Louis calmly seized a score of important towns, including Strasburg. These unjustifiable acts aroused another coalition against France. Indignation was felt throughout Europe at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes which deprived the Protestants of all they had won under Henri IV. and Louis XIII. They were placed under every possible disability. Brutal soldiers were quartered upon them with permission to behave as they pleased. The Calvinists were slaughtered, tortured, and sent to the galleys. Further, Louis attempted to restore the Catholic James II. to the English throne, on which now sat William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland. For nearly ten years (1688-1697) the war lasted, and by the Treaty of Ryswick Louis was obliged to make great concessions. Although the country was exhausted, he placed his grandson, Philip, on the Spanish throne three years later. He was again involved in war, and

everything turned against him. From 1701 to 1714 France was engaged in a losing fight, and he was fortunate in being allowed to keep the earlier conquests of his reign. France was completely exhausted, and Louis' last years were exceedingly sad. His children and his grandchildren died and his heir was a sickly little boy. •

CHAPTER XI •

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

IN 1715 Philip, Duke of Orleans, nephew of Louis XIV., was designated as Regent during the minority of Louis XV. The orgies of the Regent and his companions were disgraceful, but he was not without real ability. To cope with the threatened bankruptcy he accepted the system of a Scotsman, Law. Law's plan was to create a State Bank, which would be profitable to the Treasury, and would also give it immense resources by the emission of paper money. But Law also floated a company with a trading monopoly in the Mississippi Valley. It absorbed other companies. The whole world was a happy hunting-ground for speculators. Shares in the concern were bought at forty times their face value. Law stipulated that payments should largely be made in Treasury notes. More and more paper was issued, and at last, when everybody in a panic demanded species, the bubble burst.

Financial fluctuations on this scale could not occur without revolutionising manners. Court life, with its restraints, its artificiality and its prejudices, disappeared. There was a general cynicism. Everything was tolerated.

Louis XV. was a degenerate King. He had been badly educated. He was idle, spiteful, cruel, timid and vain. He was pious and immoral. The political power of Madame de Pompadour and of Madame Du Barry was extraordinarily mischievous. The King would not attend to affairs of State in the council; but his secret agents everywhere thwarted the official action of his ministers. Those ministers were, for the most part, incompetent. The exception was Choiseul, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was eventually brought down by feminine intrigues. Persecution of Protestants was renewed and fanatical crimes were committed. The Paris Parliament took up an attitude of opposition to the King. It was summoned to obey, and as it would not, it was suppressed.

There were long wars. France fought against Austria, and, although Maurice de Saxe won three great victories, no advantage was obtained. After a truce of a few years, the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) began. It was one of the unhappiest in French history.

This time France, Austria and Russia had a new enemy—the King of Prussia. France put her soldiers at the service of Austria. Yet the Prussian King Frederick was successful and the English allied themselves with him. The French colonies were menaced. Versailles disinterested itself in the fate of Canada, which was lost. The French possessions in India were likewise lost. Public extravagance had never reached greater heights and hopeless difficulties were being accumulated. Louis XV. was not unaware of his unpopularity and of the peril in which he was placing the monarchy. "Things will last my time," he said blandly; and La Pompadour added: "After us the Deluge!" When the King was buried the people sang lewd songs as the coffin went through the streets.

The misery of the people has been amply shown. France had gone back to the worst times it had ever experienced; men had, with the unsatisfactory spectacle

produced by outworn institutions before their eyes, begun to think about social conditions. Writers were not concerned so much with elegance of expression as with soundness of ideas. They did not want gently to satirise society—they wanted to reform society. Even the frivolous salons of the eighteenth century paid some attention to serious subjects. Voltaire brilliantly and bitterly attacked the evils of his day, and for half a century his sharp intellect made him feared by all who opposed change. Meanwhile Montesquieu endeavoured to explain civil and political laws and the nature of governments. Liberty and equality was the keynote of his social system. Rousseau proclaimed the principle of national sovereignty. With wonderful eloquence he expounded many ideas, some of them just and others foolish. Then there were the Encyclopedists, headed by Diderot. The Encyclopedists wished to change the whole spirit of France: to direct it towards rational and scientific studies: to denounce the imperfections of legislation and administration: to destroy the Christian religion and put in its place a sort of religion of humanity. Yet they did not mean to destroy the monarchy.

Louis XVI. came to a fatal heritage. He was simple, good and virtuous, in high contrast with his predecessors. But he was undecided, feeble, without foresight and unable to take drastic measures. He was heavy and apathetic. In shooting, in lock-making, he employed the best of his talents. Geography interested him, but he was unable to understand the ideas of his time. Marie-Antoinette, the Queen, an Austrian Princess, had a fatal influence over him. She did not always trouble to conform to French customs. At the Petit Trianon she amused herself in equivocal ways. She compromised her dignity and her honour on several occasions. The Court itself was divided. On one side was Monsieur, the brother of the King, who professed advanced ideas. On the other was the second

brother of the King, the Comte d'Artois, proclaiming himself reactionary, and succeeding in being almost incredibly eccentric and rude. Condé, Bourbon, and the Duc d'Enghien, were also opposed to progress. The leader of the Liberals was the Duke of Orleans.

CHAPTER XII

THE STATES-GENERAL

TURGOT was the first Minister of Louis XVI. who seriously tried to effect improvements. Taxation, he said, could not be increased, bankruptcy was an unthinkable expedient, and loans were dangerous. Expenditure must be reduced. He established the liberty of commerce in flour and grain. He established industrial liberty, breaking down the virtual monopolies of the corporations. He made the proprietors responsible for the upkeep of the public roads. He advocated elected bodies to control officials. Too many interests were imperilled and he was obliged to resign. In 1776, Necker, a Geneva banker whose wife had a fashionable salon, replaced him; and he resorted to the simple method of raising loans. His undoing was the consequence of the publication of royal expenditure in which such items as the pensions of courtiers were shown (1781).

When the American War of Independence broke out France, despite the straightened condition of the Exchequer, could not resist the temptation of setting herself in opposition to England: Franklin, the representative of the Americans, signed a treaty of alliance and commerce. French volunteers, notably La Fayette, set sail for America. The French troops were commanded

joined the Third Order, they met in the church of Saint Louis.

The King menaced them, but they proclaimed their inviolability. Members of the nobility, headed by the Duke of Orleans, joined them.

The Court called up troops. Among them were Swiss and Germans, Paris was alarmed. There were provocative incidents. The news of the exile of Necker particularly touched the people. Camille Desmoulins in the Palais-Royal cried "To arms!" The Parisians formed a guard. On July 14 they marched on the Bastille, which was used as a prison and was a fortress which menaced the eastern side of Paris. The population seized arms from the Invalides and other places, and after fierce fighting captured the Bastille. This is the symbolic act which begins the Revolution.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REVOLUTION

NECKER was recalled, and Bailly, President of the Third Order, was chosen as Mayor of Paris. A National Guard was recruited under the command of La Fayette. Its colours were blue, white and red. Similar guards were organised throughout the country. The peasants attacked the châteaux. The Assembly voted a declaration of rights which may be summarised as follows: all men are born free and equal; the principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation; liberty consists in being able to do anything which does not hurt others, and these limits can only be determined by law; law is the expression of the general will and must be the same for all; nobody should be arrested

except in virtue of the law, and punishment should be confined to strict necessity; all men must be presumed innocent until they are proved guilty; nobody must be molested for his opinions; the free communication of thought is one of the most precious rights of man; public forces are needed, but they must be used for the common good and not for particular interests; taxation must be imposed in accordance with the capacity of each citizen, and this taxation must be freely consented; property is sacred and inviolable. There were later modifications, but this declaration is the basis of the French Revolution. It did not abolish the monarchy, but the powers of the monarch were held to have no divine origin—they were drawn from the nation.

The Comte d'Artois led the emigration. That there should be an exodus was not surprising, but it was unpardonable that appeals should be made to foreign countries. Agitation was intense. Women went in procession from Paris to Versailles to demand bread, and Louis was compelled to return with the Queen and Dauphin to the Tuileries and to remain in Paris as a hostage. The Assembly, too, installed itself at Paris near the palace. This brought it more directly under the influence of the public, the violent journals and the revolutionary clubs. The Constitution was framed. France was divided into *départements*. The old tribunals were swept away, and a new judicial system established. The goods of the Church were placed at the disposition of the nation, though the nation had the charge of assuring the maintenance of the churches and the clergy. Louis in the great national fête of the Champ-de-Mars (July 14, 1790) swore to maintain the Constitution. But the priests reproached him for accepting the subordination of the ecclesiastical organisations to a civilian power. He felt himself prisoner. On the night of June 20 he and his family left the Tuileries in disguise. The Royal party in flight

reached Varennes, were there recognised, and brought back closely guarded to the capital.

Now was heard the demand for a Republic. Robespierre and Danton were open adversaries of the King. There was a popular petition for his trial, but the time was not yet ripe.

The Constituent Assembly having dissolved, a Legislative Assembly was elected. For the most part it was composed of monarchists. But the cause of the King was compromised by the émigrés who, safe in Switzerland, Germany, Spain and England, employed foolish language and prepared a counter-Revolution. The refractory priests also irritated the Assembly: they were supported by the King and they stirred up the people in Vendée. Decrees were issued against émigrés and priests. To them Louis opposed his veto.

Europe threatened to arm against the revolutionaries. Accusations of treason were heard; fear of war was felt, and fear of war engenders war. A small French army was repulsed by an Austrian army. A crowd entered the palace, calling on the King to sanction the decrees, to drive away the priests and to recall the ministers that he had dismissed. A few days later the Legislative Assembly proclaimed *la patrie en danger*. Volunteers were enrolled. A Prussian general, the Duke of Brunswick, to terrorise the French, issued a manifesto declaring that he would deliver the King, the Queen, and the Royal family from their captivity, that the National Guard would be treated as rebels, that the inhabitants of towns and villages who defended themselves against the invading troops would be punished and their houses burnt, and that Paris, if it offered resistance, would be sacked. Such a manifesto could only produce effects directly contrary to those intended. The King was denounced as an enemy of France. In the night of August 9, 1792, an assembly at the Hôtel de Ville discussed the situation, and in the morning proclaimed itself a Revolutionary Com-

mune. There was fighting around the Royal palace; Louis and his family were sent to the Temple as prisoners. Marat advocated the massacre of suspected persons, and indeed in the early days of September there were many massacres. The enemy was advancing. Kellermann and Dumouriez joined their forces at Valmy (September 20) and engaged battle with Brunswick; Brunswick considered it prudent to retreat; it was little more than a skirmish, but the moral effect of Valmy was immense.

The Convention replaced the Legislative Assembly and instantly abolished the institution of Royalty. Popular enthusiasm rose to its height. The new hymn, the "Marseillaise," was sung everywhere—a dreadful cry against kings, traitors and invaders.

Carried forward by their own frenzy, the French volunteers reached the Rhine and the Alps. They entered Belgium and won the battle of Jemmapes. The Convention judged the King, found him guilty of *lèse-patrie*, and on January 21, 1793, his head fell under the guillotine, and was thrown as a challenge to the Kings of Europe.

The Assembly was divided into several parties. There was a small Right, an uncertain Centre, and a Left which was subdivided into two sections called the Montagne and the Gironde. The Montagnards, who sat on the highest benches, included Robespierre, Danton and Marat. The Girondins (so called because they were influenced by the men of the Gironde) deprecated the influence of the clubs of Paris, and would have reduced the capital to the status of an ordinary department. On the whole, they frowned upon violence. They were detested by the Parisians, who demanded their arrest. The result was an outbreak of civil war in the provinces which the Royalists were eager to foment. At the same time, there was organised a coalition of powers against France; and the dismemberment of France was contemplated. A

revolutionary government was established; members of the Convention were sent to organise the civil and military services; a special criminal tribunal was set up to repress all counter-revolutionary enterprises; and a committee of public safety was instituted with large powers. Even these measures were deemed insufficient, and when Charlotte Corday assassinated Marat there began a Reign of Terror.

A new committee of public safety acted with the utmost severity. There were wholesale executions. The Queen was beheaded. Fourteen armies were set on foot. It was not enough to appeal for volunteers; it was decreed that all the French were mobilised, the young men for combat, the older men for the forging of arms and the transporting of provisions, the women for the making of tents and clothing and for service in the hospitals. Even the children were given employment, and the old men and women were carried into the public places to excite the courage of the soldiers. Young men of military aptitude were promoted to the rank of general. Victory succeeded victory.

The revolutionary chiefs, however, still fought each other. Some were for moderation and others were for the most extreme violence. Hébert was arrested by Robespierre and executed. Then it was the turn of Danton, suspected of lukewarmness. There was no stopping in this way. The Terror was accentuated. Robespierre himself was denounced as a tyrant, and in July, 1794, was executed. Thousands of condemnations were pronounced during these terrible months, but it is impossible to count the victims who were irregularly executed by the Terror.

CHAPTER XIV

NAPOLEON

No words can convey the valour of the Republican armies. Unpaid, ill-nourished, poorly clad, they were irresistible by reason of their patriotism. The Coalition made many mistakes. Instead of attacking Paris it endeavoured to conquer the frontier provinces. Instead of concentrating its efforts it worked for the dismemberment of Poland. Nevertheless, these naked, hungry French soldiers performed miracles; and they defeated Europe. They defeated their own compatriots, who waged war against them for the Royalist cause in Vendée and in the South of France. The Convention, which consolidated the Republic, found time to establish schools, to change the calendar, to institute a uniform system of weights and measures, to found a conservatoire of music, a natural history museum, and even, by a strange paradox, to decree that capital punishment should be abolished. But its issue of assignats to a vast amount placed the finances in jeopardy.

Under the Directoire, the government which succeeded the Convention in 1795, legislative power was divided between two assemblies, a Council of Five Hundred and a Council of Elders. The Five Hundred were to propose laws which the Elders were invited to approve. But the executive power lay in the hands of five Directors. There was still great agitation. The Royalists were working underground. The former Jacobins were demanding the introduction of Socialism. Babœuf would have done away with private property and assured equal resources to everybody. Unfortunately his followers were malcontents without any particular opinions: they were united only in their desire to overthrow the Directoire. The

movement was denounced and its leaders executed. The Jacobins fomented a feeble insurrection among the soldiers at Grenelle, and the conspirators were shot down. Paper money was still increasing; there was shameless speculation accompanied by licentiousness resembling that of the Regency. The State declared itself bankrupt, and reduced the public debt to a third of its nominal value. Mismanagement and scandals brought the Directoire into disrepute. There was a general weariness, and the way was clear for the *coup d'état* which was to bring Napoleon Bonaparte to the topmost heights of power.

Napoleon Bonaparte was born in Corsica in 1769, so that he was twenty years of age at the taking of the Bastille. He was sent to the military school at Paris. The new ideas found in him a warm advocate. He was present at the operations of the Convention against Toulon, and there distinguished himself. Rising to the rank of General, he became the friend of the Director Barras. He married the widow of a Revolutionary General—Josephine de Beauharnais.

At the age of twenty-seven he was placed in command of the Army of Italy. His success was remarkable. Yet he had proceeded in his own fashion and had disregarded the instructions of the government. He was both admired and distrusted. It was better to make use of him in some distant post. At his own suggestion he was sent to Egypt where he might give anxiety to the English. No sooner had he landed than Nelson destroyed the French fleet and the French were unable to return. But Napoleon won victories, addressing his soldiers in grandiloquent language: "Soldiers," said he, "from the summit of those pyramids forty centuries regard you." He tried to conquer Syria, but failed. Returning to Egypt he learned that there was great unrest at Paris, and leaving his army to Kleber, he embarked clandestinely on a vessel which carried him to France.

The Directoire was divided. Bonaparte and Siéyès came to an agreement. It was believed that a great danger menaced the Republic, that a saviour was necessary; and Bonaparte was placed in command of the Paris troops. On the Eighteenth Brumaire (November 10, 1799) it was decreed that the Legislative Corps should be transported to Saint-Cloud. On the following day Bonaparte entered the Assembly of Elders and threatened them. Then he went to the Five Hundred, where he was received with cries of "Down with the tyrant!" His brother Lucien Bonaparte was presiding, and instead of putting to the vote a motion against Napoleon, he went into the courtyard, addressed the troops, and induced them to disperse the deputies. The Directoire was shattered.

Three Provisional Consuls, Bonaparte, Siéyès and Roger Ducos seized executive power. Napoleon quickly rid himself of Siéyès and Roger Ducos, and he was nominated under the new constitution First Consul for ten years. His subordinate Consuls were Cambacérès, a jurist, and Lebrun, who was familiar with foreign affairs. Lists of citizens were drawn up by the nation from which he might choose his officials and legislators. There was composed a Tribunal, a Legislative Corps, a Senate and a Council of State. The Council of State prepared the laws, the Tribunal discussed them, the Legislative Corps voted them, and the Sénat supervised them. But in reality Napoleon had supreme personal power. These bodies were his creation, and simply served to mask his Dictatorship. Yet the country accepted the Constitution. Napoleon devised the plebiscitary system. The people were asked to inscribe their votes, for or against the proposals, publicly, on a register. The minority against was insignificant.

There were plots against Napoleon by the Royalists, and he took stern measures against them. Notably he seized the Duc d'Enghien, a cousin of the future

Louis XVIII., the brother of the dead King, on German territory, brought him to Vincennes, had him judged *poste-haste* and immediately shot. Prefects and sub-prefects, utterly dependent upon him, were placed in the *départements* and the *arrondissements*. Thus there was again a highly centralised administration. Napoleon founded the Bank of France, with power to emit notes. He established Appeal Courts. A Code was voted which is the basis of the law to-day. Lycées for secondary education were opened. The Legion of Honour was founded. Relations were renewed with the Pope, and while Napoleon nominated the ecclesiastics the Pope gave them their canonical status.

In 1801 peace was signed with Austria at Lunéville and in the following year with the English at Amiens.

More and more was the supremacy of Napoleon apparent. He was now Life Consul, and he established a Court precisely like that of a King. There was a growing feeling in favour of making him Emperor of the French. In 1804 this was accomplished by his favourite method of a plebiscite.

He was consecrated by the Pope himself in December in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. There Napoleon took the crown and placed it upon his own head. The Court thereafter was more luxurious than ever and the Emperor favoured the nobles who had returned and who were willing to rally to him. He created a new nobility, conferring the titles of Duke, Earl, Baron, and even Prince. Members of his family were made Kings in subordinate European countries. He provided richly for his sisters and brothers, and for those who had helped him to attain his position of grandeur.

For himself he contemplated an alliance with one of the reigning families in Europe. But it was necessary first to dissolve his marriage with Josephine. Affection and ambition pulled in different directions. The decisive point was that Josephine had given him

no heirs. Napoleon obtained from the Pope the rupture of his marriage; and after a stormy scene the former Empress went in retirement to Malmaison. Napoleon first negotiated with the Russian Czar for the hand of one of his sisters. The Czar refused. But the Austrian Emperor consented to the union of his daughter Marie-Louise and Napoleon. The marriage took place on April 1, 1810. A year later a son was born to Napoleon and the child was proclaimed King of Rome.

CHAPTER XV

NAPOLEON'S DOWNFALL

HITHERTO Napoleon's path had been strewn with glory : he had perpetually mounted higher and higher. His marshals were magnificent soldiers and he conducted his campaigns with nothing short of military genius. He was in command of France and of Italy. Switzerland was under his influence. He was Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He had lost the sea fight of Trafalgar, but he had beaten the Emperors of Austria and of Russia at Austerlitz. His Eagles had flown over the whole of Western Europe. The Treaty of Pressburg (1805) was of the greatest importance in that it placed the Rhineland States between Prussia and Austria. The peace of Tilsit (1807) strengthened the Rhine Confederation, though in it can be detected political blunders. His intervention in Spain (1808) was less fortunate. The general who was afterwards to be known as Lord Wellington appeared on the scene. Had Napoleon known when to stop he might have consolidated his conquests, and France might have enjoyed an immense territory and prestige. But now the

peoples as well as the governments were alarmed, and soon Napoleon was to begin his disastrous expedition into Russia.

These had been tremendous years. The face of Europe had been changed. The thrones of the Bourbons had gone and the Hapsburgs had been humbled to the dust. The Braganzas were exiled. More than a score of reigning families had lost their territorial possessions. The great Italian Duchies and Republics had ceased to exist. Holland and the old Empire had been completely transformed. French nominees sat on the thrones of Europe, and accepted the French system. Even Sweden appealed to France for a King. Everywhere French ideas made headway. Yet although Napoleon was accepted by the older Courts he was hated by them, and he could not resist the temptation to humiliate them further. He had entered Madrid, Naples, Vienna and Berlin as a conqueror. Could he not now enter Moscow as a conqueror? And, who knows whether he might not later even enter London as a conqueror?

France herself was by no means so ready to follow Napoleon in his magnificent enterprises. She was now orderly and prosperous but she had had enough of war. Unhappily Napoleon did not realise the vital need of peace. In 1812 he prepared a formidable army against Russia. That army was recruited from many nations of which Napoleon was master. In it there were Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Belgians, Germans, Italians, Swiss, Poles and Spaniards. Even Austria and Prussia sent contingents. The campaign began late—in the month of June. Nominally 700,000 men, the army lacked homogeneity, and the soldiers were ready to desert. The Czar with 300,000 men was determined to avoid battle, and to make a wilderness before Napoleon. The Emperor's armies experienced unexpected difficulties and could not fight a decisive battle. Moscow was eventually reached, but there were no provi-

sions, and presently flames appeared at various points of the city. For five days the fire raged. Napoleon was nonplussed. No offer came from the Czar, and Napoleon's overtures were treated with scorn. The winter was approaching. The army had been thinned. After spending more than a month in Moscow, the dispirited French left towards the end of October. The supplies along the route were lost. Napoleon was always menaced. In the middle of November the most rigorous weather set in. To advance it was necessary to abandon the artillery. There was danger of famine. Perpetually were the French beset by the enemy. The bridge by which the Beresina had to be crossed was burned and the river was filled with blocks of ice. In heart-breaking conditions the retreat continued. Beyond the Niemen, which was recrossed at the end of December, the French had left 300,000 soldiers, dead or prisoners. They had not been beaten, but the Grande Armée had been reduced to a handful by cold and hunger.

Back in Paris Napoleon raised a new army, for Germany had become menacing. In the spring of 1813 he won other battles against Prussia and Russia. Austria joined the enemies of France. At Leipzig a battle was fought which lasted three days. On the third day the Saxons abandoned the French, went over to the enemy, and employed French munitions against the French troops. Everything was lacking on the French side, and retreat was ordered. That retreat was disastrous.

In France opposition to Napoleon had developed and the Allied enemies of France proclaimed that they did not make war on France but on Napoleon. They protested that he had exercised despotic sway outside his own Empire, and they called on France to retire within her natural limits. This was a shrewd blow. It served to separate the interests of France and Napoleon. The Emperor could not count on support. France was invaded on all sides. Blucher crossed the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse. Schwartzenberg entered by

Belfort. Wellington came over the Pyrenees. The Austrians were at the Alps. Other forces poured in from the North. Against them Napoleon had only a small army, but he won several battles and lost others. He audaciously tried to draw the Allies towards the Rhine and so free Paris. The plan might have succeeded but the Impérial government was undermined by intrigue, and the enemy, knowing this, resolved to march upon the capital without troubling about Napoleon's doings. Paris was practically defenceless. On March 31, 1814, the Allies made their triumphal entry.

The English under Wellington had already advanced to Bordeaux, where Louis XVIII. was proclaimed King, and the Royalists were active in other towns. The Empress fled to the Loire with the young King of Rome; and Talleyrand, who remained at Paris, was an adversary of Napoleon. He provoked manifestations in favour of the King. The former émigrés enthusiastically welcomed the foreign invasion. Talleyrand had little difficulty in persuading the Czar and the King of Prussia to accept the return of the Bourbons, and the Allies declared that though they would not treat with Napoleon nor with any member of his family, they would respect the Constitution that the French should adopt. The Senate, convoked by Talleyrand, formed a Provisional Government under the presidency of the astute diplomatist. Napoleon, informed of these events, was ready to fight again; but he was dissuaded by his marshals. On April 6 he abdicated. The Allies gave him the Isle of Elba for residence; and after a touching farewell to his old Guard at Fontainebleau, he left for his tiny kingdom.

CHAPTER XVI

THE HUNDRED DAYS

LOUIS XVIII. came from England. He agreed to reign as a Constitutional King with a representative government. Taxation was to be voted by the Chambers. There was to be liberty of the Press and religious freedom. No attempt was to be made to restore the property confiscated by the nation and disposed of legally. The acquisitions of the Revolution were to be maintained. The Charter gave the command of the national forces to the King. He was to make peace treaties and declare war. He was to nominate officials and generally effect the execution of the country's laws. There was to be a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies. The Peers were to be nominated by the King; the Deputies were to be elected by the country for a period of five years. Deputies should be forty years of age, and pay not less than a thousand francs in direct taxes. Electors should be thirty years of age and pay at least three hundred francs in direct taxes. The Charter was on the whole liberal, though there were complaints that the Roman Catholic creed was adopted as the religion of the State. But Louis ostentatiously signed as in the "nineteenth year" of his reign. Intervening governments were thus dismissed by a stroke of the pen. There was a fear lest Absolute Monarchy should again be set up by this King who entered supported by foreign bayonets. Napoleon seized eagerly on the evidences of discontent. With a few hundred men he left the Isle of Elba and landed near Cannes on March 1, 1815. He issued a proclamation that all that had been done was unlawful. When troops were sent against him he approached them alone and they threw down their arms. At Grenoble, at Lyons and at other towns he had a great reception.

On March 20 he was at the Tuileries. Louis had already left it. Napoleon had produced a bloodless revolution.

Napoleon confirmed the Charter in its principal provisions. He resolved to govern in consonance with popular opinion. When he submitted the terms of the new Constitution to the people they were approved by an overwhelming plebiscitary vote. But though he was thus supported by the people, foreign armies hedged him round; and the Royalists were in arms in the Vendée. The Vienna Congress then in session declared that Napoleon had placed himself beyond the pale. He was an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world. It was resolved to dismember France—to divide it up into the old provinces. While many of the people rushed to enrol themselves under Napoleon, there was generally lassitude and distrust, especially among the officials and the deputies. The Emperor himself seems to have been affected. He felt that his star had set. But he worked feverishly and organised an army of 182,000 men with a reserve of 200,000 National Guards. The Allies had far superior numbers. The Austrians put 300,000 men in the field. There were 170,000 Russians, there were 124,000 Prussians under Blücher and there were 95,000 English and Dutch under Wellington. Napoleon took the offensive. He crossed the Sambre to fight in Belgium. Indecisive battles were fought at Quatre Bras and at Ligny. Wellington barricaded himself on the road to Brussels, near Waterloo. On June 18 Napoleon advanced against him. The ground was muddy, and he delayed his attack. This permitted Blücher to arrive in time to assist the English General. The French army was broken, and Napoleon, with the remnants of his troops, fell back.

He was summoned to abdicate again by the Chambers. He surrendered to the English, hoping to be allowed to settle in England. But it was thought

safer to deport him to St. Helena, a lonely island in the Atlantic, where he lived six years longer.

Napoleon had organised France in the most remarkable manner, and many of his institutions remain almost unchanged to-day. He protected scientists, among them the naturalist Cuvier, the physicists Gay-Lussac and Geoffry Saint-Hilaire, the mathematicians Monge and Laplace, and the chemist Chaptal. Industry had been stimulated by the invention of the Jacquard method of weaving silk, while Richard and Lenoir established many textile factories in France. Literature was conventional. The noteworthy authors of this period are Chateaubriand and Mme. de Staël, who lived in exile for some years. The chief painter of the Empire was Louis David. Prud'hon was classical in style, but warm in temperament. Monuments imitated from antiquity were raised in the streets of the capital, which was vastly improved and took on its modern aspect.

The Congress of Vienna, which lasted from October, 1814, to June, 1815, established a balance of power in Europe. No power, it was laid down, should be predominant. Europe consisted of France, England, Russia, Austria and Prussia as Great Powers; while Germany and Italy continued as a number of separate States. The Pope received back his domains. Holland and Belgium constituted a single Kingdom. Switzerland was a confederation pledged to neutrality. There were other territorial provisions respecting Finland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden. France was fortunate to escape dismemberment; but this was because the peace-makers wished above all to stem the tide of revolution and to restore autocracy. The prestige of Louis XVIII must, it was argued, be upheld. Talleyrand obtained admittance to the Conference and cleverly played the Allies against each other. Metternich, representing Austria, stood for Absolute Monarchy. The Czar Alexander, mystically inclined, posed as

arbitrator. By the Treaty of the Holy Alliance the Powers agreed to assist any sovereign whose authority was attacked.

France had to pay a war indemnity and to support foreign soldiers on her soil for three years. She lost some territory, which left her frontiers uncovered, and after all Napoleon's victories she was in a less advantageous position than under Louis XIV.

CHAPTER XVII

THE RESTORATION

AFTER the Hundred Days—the brief second reign of Napoleon—there was a reactionary movement. The Royalists were more implacable than the King, and something like a White Terror began. There were massacres and executions. The elections of August, 1815, under the influence of the foreign occupation and the White Terror, went in favour of the ultra-Royalists. Louis was given the *Chambre Introuvable*—a Chamber that nobody had thought possible. The tricolour cockade was now dubbed a treasonable emblem; and the white flag was the royal ensign. Only Royalists were given office, and liberty of utterance was denied. So retrograde was this Chamber that the King dissolved it in September, 1816, and a more liberal body was returned. Indeed at each election the liberal majority increased, until the assassination of the Duc de Berry in February, 1820, determined another reaction. The liberals were kept out of the Chamber by the law of the double vote, which practically placed electoral power in the hands of rich men. There was a pitiless censorship. A society of conspirators called

the Charbonnerie (on the model of the Italian Carbonari) was formed to overthrow the Bourbons. Plots were discovered and there were executions.

Louis died in September, 1824. His brother, the Comte d'Artois, who had been conspicuous as the leader of the "ultras" and who had not changed any ideas he held before 1789, was now King under the title of Charles X. He immediately granted a milliard francs to the émigrés. A law against sacrilege was passed. The Press was severely controlled. Popular discontent was nevertheless not inarticulate, and the Chamber itself revolted; a more moderate ministry was formed which tried to initiate a liberal policy. Charles soon had enough of this, and called the Prince de Polignac, a notorious reactionary, to be his minister. On March 2, 1830, the King threatened the opposition in the Chamber; whereupon two hundred and twenty-one deputies, in an address, reminded the King of the Charter. The Chamber was dissolved, but over two hundred of the opposition deputies were re-elected and others stood by them. The government was in a minority, yet the obstinate King, without consulting the Chamber, issued ordinances suppressing liberty of the Press, dissolving the Chamber and modifying the electoral system. His action was illegal: it was a *coup d'état*; and the people rose in rebellion.

On July 28 there was fighting in the streets. The tricolour flag floated from the Hôtel de Ville and from the towers of Notre-Dame. Soldiers joined the crowds. Polignac and Charles refused to listen to counsels of pacification. The following day the insurgents occupied the Palais Bourbon, the Invalides, the Louvre and the Tuileries. Charles was at last alarmed, and from his palace at Saint-Cloud sent emissaries to negotiate at Paris. It was too late. His propositions were repelled, and a manifesto in favour of the Duc d'Orleans appeared on the walls of the capital. On July 31, the Duc d'Orleans, known for his liberal opinions, went

on a white horse from the Palais-Royal to the Hôtel de Ville. There he stood on the balcony holding the tricolour flag in his hand. La Fayette publicly embraced him. Charles abdicated and fled to England.

On August 7, Parliament revised the Charter and gave the throne to Louis Philippe of Orleans. The Republicans were disappointed at the result of the July Revolution and the Royalists were not prepared to recognise the Orleans family. They, as legitimists, demanded the Duc de Bordeaux or the Comte de Chambord. There was also a Bonapartist party whose chief was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

Louis Philippe had lived in poverty, and was in many respects a typical bourgeois. He did not want to go farther than the revised Charter, but to that Charter he meant to be faithful. There was repeated rioting in the early days of his reign, and it was clear that popular feeling favoured further progress. At Lyons, the workers, in a dispute about wages, resorted to violence, and made themselves masters of the town for three days. Troops had to be sent against them. Socialism spread with alarming rapidity. There were several attempts on the King's life. Repressive measures were again employed; insults to the King and attacks on the government were prosecuted as criminal; and the newspapers once more came under the censorship. Guizot held that the King should actively concern himself in public affairs; while Thiers exclaimed: "The King should reign, but not govern!" In 1836 Louis Napoleon (who was the nephew of the Emperor) tried to stir up the army to his cause. He was arrested and on his release went to America, whence he returned to make a second and equally fruitless attempt in 1840. In 1839 the revolutionary movement led by Blanqui and Barbès revived, and there was another insurrection which was speedily put down. Altogether there was perpetual uneasiness.

*From 1840 to 1848 Guizot was at the head of the

government. He advised his countrymen to "get rich." It was advice which was followed. The industrial system was being developed, as modern discoveries and inventions succeeded each other, but the very prosperity which was enjoyed by the middle classes aroused grievances among the workers. Guizot was opposed to chauvinism; he desired peace in order that his country might take a foremost place in the industrial world. With England he entered into the first *entente cordiale*. But he nevertheless continued the conquest of Algeria which had begun under Charles X. and which was not accomplished until December, 1847.

The electoral question was acute. Guizot was opposed to universal suffrage. He declared that it was absurd to allow all living creatures to exercise political rights. Yet electoral reforms were demanded by all parties, including the Monarchists, and the obstinacy of Guizot was to have serious consequences. Louis Philippe, in full accord with Guizot, paid no heed to the warnings which were conveyed to him. In the summer of 1847 banquets were organised all over France, at which all kinds of reformers met—Republicans and Monarchists in fraternal union. As the right of public meetings had been suppressed, there was no other legal mode of reunion; and some of these banquets created much commotion—particularly that at which the poet Lamartine denounced the policy of Guizot, whereupon Guizot refused to allow another banquet to be held at Paris. There were heated protests. Crowds collected on the boulevards; they sang the "Marseillaise" on the Place de la Concorde. On the night of February 2, 1848, passions ran hot. Barricades were suddenly thrown up and the National Guard cried with the crowd: "Vive la reforme! A bas Guizot!" The Minister resigned and Paris demonstrated its joy. But in the evening of the twenty-third there was a fatal incident. While the crowd was harmlessly shouting its hostility to Guizot, the troops un-

wisely intervened. Twenty persons were killed. The indignant people demanded the abdication of Louis Philippe. Discouraged, the King consented to lay down his crown in favour of his grandson the Comte de Paris, and then he too fled to England. The Duchesse d'Orleans took her son, the Comte de Paris, to the Chamber, which recognised the new King. But the crowd poured into the Chamber, and a provisional government was composed which proclaimed the Republic.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SECOND EMPIRE

THE people would have chosen the red flag as their symbol, but Lamartine chose the tricolour. There were great differences of opinion as to whether the Revolution should be purely political or radically social. In the meantime universal suffrage was established, and liberty of thought restored. France was converted into a great debating society. Scores of journals were founded and hundreds of clubs were opened. The workers listened to the Socialist leaders and the advanced Democrats. National workshops were opened but they were a failure and within a few months were closed.

The elections on April 23 were won by the moderates, but the extremists' were not satisfied with this verdict. There was a labour insurrection against the government, and on four days in June there was fighting in the Paris streets. Five generals were killed, as was the Archbishop of Paris, who interposed between the combatants. Eleven thousand prisoners were made, and many of them were deported. General Cavaignac

exercised a severe dictatorship. But at last the Assembly gave a Constitution to the country, based upon the principles of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

The President of the Republic was to be elected by popular vote. Louis Napoleon, who had failed in his appeal to the army in 1836 and again in 1840, put himself forward as candidate. He was elected by 5,434,000 votes against 1,448,000 for Cavaignac on December 10, 1848. He took the constitutional oath, but the ministers he chose were anti-Republican. From the beginning his rule was personal. Laws were passed against lay instruction; the catechism was taught in the schools; and teachers came under the supervision of the clergy. Universal suffrage was again limited. Newspapers were treated harshly. Then on December 2, 1851, came the *coup d'état* which made Louis Napoleon Emperor. Sixteen deputies were arrested and the Chamber dissolved by the President. A new Constitution was promised. When two hundred deputies asserted that Louis Napoleon, by exceeding his functions, had forfeited them, they too were arrested. Victor Hugo was foremost in organising a committee of resistance, but the public generally was apathetic. The nephew resorted to the plebiscitary method which had well served the uncle. By seven and a half million votes he secured dictatorship for ten years. The middle classes were afraid above all of a Revolution, and Louis Napoleon strongly appealed to them as the representative of order.

A year later the dictator became Emperor. The title was conferred on him by an even larger vote than that of 1851. "The Empire means peace," declared Napoleon III., in defiance of the past and in ignorance of the future. There was practically no protest, except that of Victor Hugo, exiled in Guernsey.

The Emperor married a Spanish woman Eugenie de Montijo (January 29, 1853). A son was born to them in 1856, whose fate it was to be killed after the collapse

of the Empire in fighting with the English against the Zulus.

The first war of Louis Napoleon was that of the Crimea, from 1854 to 1856. It was fought in alliance with England, on behalf of Turkey, against Russia. It added to the prestige of Napoleon, and for a number of years France played a preponderant rôle in Constantinople. The second war began in 1859. It was for the purpose of driving the Austrians out of Italy. General MacMahon, subsequently President of the Third French Republic, won the battle of Magenta, and a month later Napoleon III. was present at another victory. In the peace-making Napoleon betrayed the Italians to whom he had promised full unity and freedom, but he obtained for France Nice and Savoy.

The European courts paid homage to the "upstart" Emperor. The Second Empire entered on a career of brilliance. There were, indeed, social reforms. Old age pensions were instituted, and workmen were given the right to combine and to strike. The great transformation of Paris by Baron Haussmann provided a good deal of work. Banks were established, and large enterprises of an industrial and commercial character were set on foot. The railways were developed, as was the mercantile fleet. The Suez Canal was cut. Nor was agriculture neglected, and altogether France made great strides under Napoleon III. The Mexican war (1864-1867) was a blunder. It was started for financial reasons, but Napoleon endeavoured to make Maximilian, brother of the Austrian Emperor, ruler of Mexico. The war dragged on; it promised no results; and finally Napoleon withdrew his troops, leaving the unhappy Maximilian to be shot.

The prestige of the Emperor was diminished and it was necessary to gain fresh laurels. In 1870 there was a dispute about the Spanish throne. A Hohenzollern was a candidate for this throne, and Bismarck

persuaded the King of Prussia to support him. France expressed her opposition. The King of Prussia thereupon advised his cousin to withdraw his candidature. This appeared to be the end of the episode; but the French Minister for Foreign Affairs foolishly and provocatively insisted that the Prussian King should pledge himself to prevent any future Hohenzollern candidature in Spain. The King declined to enter into such an engagement, but his interview with the French Ambassador was courteous. Bismarck published the King's despatch in such a manner as to make war, in the prevailing conditions, inevitable. On July 19, 1870, France declared war on Prussia.

The French were hopelessly beaten from the beginning. Bazaine's army was shut up in Metz; MacMahon's army was defeated at Sedan (September 2) and the Emperor was made prisoner. Paris proclaimed the Republic in the Hôtel de Ville.

A provisional government endeavoured to defend the country. Gambetta raised an army in the provinces, but this body of raw recruits could not prevent the triumph of the enemy. Paris was invested. It was starving, it was bombarded, and it was troubled by political agitation. On January 19, 1871, it capitulated.

William, King of Prussia, was proclaimed German Emperor by the German princes at Versailles. An armistice was granted and elections were held in France on February 8. A few days later Thiers was nominated head of the government and empowered to conclude a treaty of peace. Alsace and part of Lorraine were taken by Germany. A war indemnity of five milliard francs was imposed. The definite treaty was signed on May 10, 1871.

But in the meantime another revolution broke out at Paris. The National Assembly sat at Versailles instead of the capital, and this was regarded as an offensive sign of distrust. The unemployed were

numerous. Many of them were armed. The Parisians smarted under defeat, blaming the authorities; and long privations had enfevered them. Moreover, the Assembly refused to pay the National Guards any longer, and insufficient grace was accorded for the payment of rent and commercial debts. The National Guard formed a committee and refused to give up its cannon. On March 18, two generals, who had been sent to take the cannon from Montmartre, were captured and shot. Paris elected what it called a Commune. It held that each Commune should possess autonomy, and the Association of Communes of France should assure French unity. Half a dozen towns likewise proclaimed the Commune. Bismarck offered his services against this insurrection but Thiers refused. He accepted, however, the return of French prisoners to be used against their rebellious compatriots.

The second siege of Paris, conducted by MacMahon, lasted two months. The Communards systematically destroyed the monuments of Paris. On May 21, Thiers gave the order for the offensive to begin and his army entered the capital. Quarter by quarter the revolutionaries defended themselves behind barricades. They shot their hostages, including the Archbishop. They set fire to the public buildings. The Versailles army retaliated by mercilessly massacring the Communards. Tens of thousands of victims fell in Bloody Week.

CHAPTER XIX

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

THIERS was the first President of the Republic. He was succeeded in 1873 by MacMahon, who was conservative, made ministers of the Royalists, and dismissed many Republican officials. The Monarchists, however, were divided. There were two pretenders—the Comte de Chambord and the Comte de Paris, one the grandson of Charles X., and the other the grandson of Louis Philippe. An arrangement was effected between them, but the Comte de Chambord ruined the Royalist cause by foolishly declaring that he remained faithful to the white flag and would not accept the tricolour.

Not until 1875 was the Constitution passed, and by a single vote the Republic was accepted. There have been minor amendments since, but the following is the general Constitutional law of France; the President, who possesses executive power, is elected every seven years by the Senate and the Chamber sitting together in a National Assembly. He is, however, something of a figure-head. The real responsibility lies with the Ministers who, though nominally chosen by the President, can be dismissed by the Chambers. The Senate is elected by the Deputies, the General Councillors, the Councillors of Arrondissements, and Delegates of Municipal Councils, who form Electoral Colleges in the different districts. Senators are elected for nine years, though a third of them retire every three years. They are considered to be less important than the Deputies, who are directly elected by the people; and they are expected to approve the work of the Chamber. The Chamber is elected for four years and its chief task is to pass the Budget. Every Frenchman who is not disqualified by a penal condemnation

demanding and obtained the resignation of M. Delcassé. The Agadir incident of 1911 was particularly significant. The French were dealing with troubles in Morocco when the German gunboat *Panther* entered the "closed" port of Agadir (July 1) on the pretext that German persons and property were to be protected. The situation was serious, but England and Russia stood by France. M. Caillaux negotiated with Germany, and gave her "compensations" in the French Congo.

Among the greater writers of the nineteenth century it is only possible to mention Victor Hugo, who began the Romantic movement, Lamartine, Sainte-Beuve, Alfred de Vigny, Alfred de Musset, Balzac, Alexandre Dumas, George Sand, Theophile Gautier, Emile Zola, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Stendhal, Gustave Flaubert, Alphonse Daudet, Pierre Loti, Paul Bourget, Guy de Maupassant, Anatole France, Baudelaire and Paul Verlaine. Among the scholars and historians are de Tocqueville, Thierry, Michelet, Albert Sorel, Taine and Renan. Among the musicians are Berlioz, Gounod, Bizet, Debussy and Saint-Saëns. Among the philosophers are Renouvier, Henri Poincaré, Bergson and Boutroux. Among the artists are Delacroix and Ingres; Géricault and Courbet; Corot and Millet; Moreau and Puvis de Chavannes; and the Impressionists, Manet, Monet, Renoir, Degas and Sisley. The sculptors include Rude, Barye, Carpeaux, Frémiet, Rodin, Bartholomé. Pasteur takes first place among the scientists, followed by Pierre and Marie Curie.

* * * * *

The military law of France imposed two years' service on all Frenchmen. After the 1913 elections the period was increased to three years. It was realised that a dangerous situation was developing in Europe. Yet after the assassination of the Austrian Archduke in Serajevo (June, 1914) France so little realised the

imminence of war that President Poincaré did not cancel his projected visit to Russia. The news of the gravity of events sent him hurrying back. He landed on French shores on July 29. On July 31 he wrote a solemn letter to the King of England expressing the conviction that if Germany had the certitude that England would stand by France peace might yet be saved. The next day Germany declared war on Russia. The French Prime Minister Viviani withdrew the French troops ten kilometres from the frontier to avoid incidents. But it was too late; and for more than four years the Great War lasted. Paris was menaced in the early months, and was saved by the steadiness of Joffre, the invaluable help of the small British army, and the timely stroke of General Gallieni, Military Governor of Paris, who sent all available reserves in taxicabs to meet the advancing enemy. Thereafter, British and French settled down to trench fighting. The most terrible and prolonged battle was for Verdun in 1916. The French fought with determination, but in 1917 there were intrigues, treachery, and discontent. Clemenceau came to the post of Prime Minister and stimulated the country to greater exertions. He had spies and traitors arrested. He caused Foch to be placed in command of the whole of the Allied armies. American forces began to pour into the country, and, despite the Russian debacle, after a last desperate effort, Germany crumpled. The Armistice was declared on November 11, 1918. At the Peace Conference, held in Paris, France recovered Alsace-Lorraine. Large indemnities were demanded from Germany, of which France was to have fifty-two per cent. Rhineland was to be occupied by French and Allied armies for fifteen years. French exasperation at the fall of the mark and Germany's inability to pay resulted in the occupation of the Ruhr from January, 1923, until the autumn of 1925. M. Poincaré agreed to the meeting of an international group of experts to consider the reparations

question, and the commission, generally known as the Dawes Committee, sat in Paris from January to April, 1924. It made provisional recommendations which were satisfactory to both sides. An Anglo-Franco-German *rapprochement* was afterwards effected at Locarno. The French currency, like that of many European countries, fell alarmingly, and only recovered when M. Poincaré consented again to take the office of Prime Minister in July, 1926.

Many problems still face France—Parliamentary instability, Communistic propaganda, administrative inefficiency, the decline of the birth-rate and the inflow of foreign workers, the inadequacy of Colonial development and the Alsatian unrest due to mistaken attempts to assimilate immediately a province for nearly fifty years under German rule. There are diplomatic problems—the relations of France with the League of Nations, and, at the same time, with her Central European Allies; the growing demand for disarmament, and for an abandonment of military and diplomatic methods that have hitherto served. There are grave industrial and financial problems. Yet it may be said that, despite obvious difficulties, France has never, in the whole of her history, occupied a higher position in the esteem of the world than she does to-day; and never has the future appeared more worthy of the brightest pages of the past.

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The History edited by Ernest Lavisse, by fifteen different authors, is sound (Hachette). Gabriel Hanotaux has likewise divided his History by different hands into sections dealing with the History of Letters, Arts, Sciences, Politics, Religion, Finance, and Military and Naval Affairs (Plon-Nourrit). For the English reader the relevant chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History* are to be recommended. A convenient, compact, and remarkably accurate History, is that by Victor Duruy, published by Dent in the Everyman Series. Mary Duclaux (Fisher Unwin) and the joint authors, Guy de la Batut and George Friedman (Methuens), have produced admirable Histories of France. In French, *Francia*, by Joseph Reinach (Hachette), is wonderfully concise and complete; while the *Histoire de France*

by Jacques Bainville (Arthème Fayard), though influenced by the author's political beliefs, is a very valuable synthesis. So, too, is *L'Unité Française*, by Edouard Driault (Félix Alcan). Alfred Rambaud in three volumes, *Histoire de la Civilisation Française* (Armand Colin), contributes a succinct account of customs and institutions in successive ages. Camille Jullian writes *De la Gaule à la France* (Hachette), and a series of volumes published by Hachette, including *Les Origines* and *Le Moyen Age* by Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Le Siècle de la Renaissance* by Louis Battifol, *Le Grand Siècle* by Jacques Boulanger, *Le XVIII^e Siècle* by C. Stryienski, *La Revolution* by Louis Madelin, and *La Troisième République* by Raymond Recouly, are interesting and authoritative. *L'Europe et la Revolution Française* by Albert Sorel (Plon-Nourrit) is even wider in its scope than its title implies, and deals in masterly manner with the main currents of French diplomacy. Among other useful works which may be profitably consulted are *Growth of the French Nation* by George B. Adams (Macmillan); *The French Revolution* by Matthews (Longmans, Green); J. H. Rose's *Life of Napoleon* (Macmillan); H. A. L. Fisher's *Bonapartism* (Clarendon Press); *Les Hommes de la Revolution* by Louis Madelin (Plon); *The French Revolution* by Hilaire Belloc (Home University Library); *Miniatures of French History* by Béloc (Nelson and Sons)—a vivid account of important episodes; and *Louis XIV.* by Louis Bertrand (Arthème Fayard), which gives a far too favourable estimate of the character of the king but, nevertheless, conveys a good impression of the French spirit. The present writer's book on Louis XIV. (Jonathan Cape) may serve as a corrective; while a reference may also be permitted to the volume *France* in the Modern World Series (Benn).

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A HISTORY OF GERMANY

BY WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON

Author of "The German Empire, 1867-1914," "The Evolution of
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A HISTORY OF GERMANY

CHAPTER I.

FROM TRIBAL LIFE TO STATE LIFE

(1—814)

THE Germans, or, to speak correctly, the progenitors of the Germanic stock, first appear upon the page of history in the form of nomadic Aryan tribes of uncertain origin, emerging out of the shadow-land of prehistoric antiquity. Their home was in Central Asia, but before the Christian era strong westward movements set in, bringing them across the Caucasus into Europe. On the coastlands of the Baltic and North Seas, including Scandinavia, settled people who received the name "Germans," signifying "neighbours," "forest-folk," or "war men."

At the opening of the Christian era, the Rhine in the west and the Danube in the south broadly divided the territories under Roman rule from those inhabited by the German tribes. But Rome's efforts to push her sway both east and north were constantly frustrated by the pressure of the barbarians, who steadily pushed forward, and as they did so Slavonic tribes behind them advanced likewise, and occupied the region east of the Elbe and Saale. It was when Augustus was making a new attempt to consolidate his empire in the north that Arminius (Hermann), the paramount chief of the Cherusci, destroyed the legions under Quinctilius Varus in the fierce battle of the Teutoburg Forest (A.D. 9). Under Vespasian, Rome's sway seemed to be made secure, and now Germany left of the Rhine was divided into two provinces for administrative purposes, viz., Upper and Lower Germany (*Germania prima* and *Germania secunda*). Many of the Roman settlements, encampments, and strongholds established throughout the borderlands formed

nuclei of important cities—e.g., Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), Treves (Trier), Strassburg, Worms, Speyer, Ratisbon (Regensburg), Augsburg, and Vienna.

Until the Romans came across them little was known about the Germans, their country, characteristics, and customs. Cæsar heard something in the course of his Gallic wars, but it referred in the main to a single tribe, the Suevi, or Swabians, of which he formed a high opinion. For example, he praises their hardiness, valour in war, hospitality, and chaste habits; and tells how the men alternately performed field work and military service, and how private property was unknown, all land being held in common.

They were also a freedom-loving people, in whom the instinct of independence was developed at an early date. In his *Germania*, written about A.D. 89, Tacitus says that their kings and generals were elected, the former being chosen for their long lineage, the latter for valour. A rudimentary form of self-government existed. On matters of minor moment the headmen, or magistrates (*principes*), consulted together and acted accordingly, but important questions were referred to popular councils for ultimate decision. Only the freemen enjoyed full tribal rights, and below them were the *liti*, a class of semi-serfs, and again below these the slaves, who were usually prisoners of war.

Already certain tribal characteristics showed themselves which were repeatedly to play a fateful part in the later history of the German people. Such were a marked propensity for intestine disputes and divisions, which made them an easy prey to the Roman power, a fondness for sectional amalgamations, leagues, and alliances, and the practice of entering the armies of Rome as mercenaries, a practice which was followed under different conditions down to modern times. So much did successive emperors encourage the engagement of German recruits in their armies, that the time came when whole legions were so composed. They were also brave fighters, and their loyalty seldom failed. Augustus formed a bodyguard of trusty German soldiers, of which he was very proud.

It is not necessary to the purpose of this limited survey to recount in detail the course of events which followed the partition into the western and eastern empires (364), nor yet to trace the history of the German tribes individually. The irruptions into Europe of the Mongolian Huns, dating from the end of the fourth century, were the signal for the great mass movement of barbaric and semi-barbaric tribes which is known as the "dispersion of the peoples." Not only did this movement lead to a great redistribution of the population of Europe, but it broke up the Western Empire.

Now the German tribes, having established themselves permanently in the seats of Roman influence, imbibed progressive ideas more readily, adjusted themselves to civilised customs and institutions, and some of them accepted, at least in form, the Christian faith. Backward though they still were in the arts and graces and amenities of civilisation as the Romans knew it, there was in these tribes a fund of latent strength, character, and even statecraft. Their early rigorous military discipline was self-imposed, but more and more their kings became war-lords as well as rulers, while a powerful aristocracy, having little in common with their primitive nobility, developed out of the dukes, counts, and other notables who served the kings as military officers, local governors, and judges.

In the main they preserved their own laws and systems of government in the territories they subjugated and occupied, only taking over from their neighbours such improvements as were commended by experience and special legislation which had been called into existence by local conditions. The major part of what forms modern Germany was now occupied by Germanic tribes and tribal combinations—Saxons, Thuringians, Swabians, Frisians, and Bavarians; only in the east was homogeneity broken by the presence of Slavonic elements.

For German history the great fact of the period reached was the rise of the Franks. The tribe was divided into two branches, the Riparian Franks, who settled on both banks of the middle and lower reaches of the Rhine, and

the Salian Franks, who settled at the north of the river and on the adjacent seaboard, spreading westward as far as Normandy. It was the Salian king Chlodwig, or Clovis, the founder of the Merovingian line, who created the first Frankish realm, which he ruled from Paris, and which at his death (511) stretched from the Rhine, Neckar, and Main to the Atlantic. In fulfilment of a vow made at a moment when his decisive victory over the Alemanni still hung in the balance, this great empire-builder accepted the Christian faith. Accordingly, together with three thousand of his nobles, he was baptised at Reims in the cathedral which he had once pillaged, even to the extent of carrying away the sacred eucharistic vessels.

Some of the political and social features of the political system created by him are deserving of note, since they were destined to have results of great importance, not only for that State but later for Germany. One was the growth of a wealthy territorial aristocracy, powerful in social influence. After reserving for himself and the Crown a large share of the gains of his wars and subjugations, Clovis granted land freely to his nobles and generals, and also induced people of Frankish race to settle in the conquered districts, assigning to them appropriated land for cultivation, a forceful method of colonisation which was to be imitated centuries later. The Church shared liberally in these gifts of land, and with growing wealth it acquired increased power at the expense of the Crown.

Further, the government of so wide a realm required a large class of officials of all ranks, and because geographical and physical conditions made impossible any effective system of centralisation the higher administrative functionaries easily obtained a large measure of independence. In this way there grew up in the life of the Court and the State an official element which, from being first a power behind the throne, became in course of time a power alongside and even overshadowing it.

The principal officer of State was the Major-domus, or Mayor of the Palace. There was a Major-domus for each of the three principal divisions of the kingdom, Austrasia,

Neustria, and Burgundy, and in the third decade of the seventh century the office in Austrasia was made hereditary in the family of Pippin the Elder. So ambitious was Pippin's heir that he tried to put his son and successor on the throne, with the result that both of the conspirators forfeited their lives. A later Pippin became sole Major-domus of the realm, and also called himself Duke and Prince of the Franks, though wisely he was content to exercise royal authority without possessing or claiming it.

His office and power descended undiminished to his greater son, Charles Martell ("The Hammer"), who is regarded as the founder of the Carolingian dynasty. This remarkable man, who was distinguished no less as statesman than as soldier, pulled together the Frankish kingdom when it seemed to be falling to pieces, a prey to the old tribal divisions. Charles the Hammer had been ruler *de facto*: his younger son, Pippin the Short, deposed the last of the Merovingian kings and formally took his place. The power of the Papacy had long been growing at the expense of the Empire, and it was significant that Pippin sought and obtained the assent of Pope Zacharias to this act of usurpation.

Already, in the middle of the eighth century, we have reached one of the most brilliant epochs in German history—the age of the Emperor Charles the Great, better known as Charlemagne, son of the last of the Pippins. After the early death of his elder brother, to whom had fallen half of the Frankish kingdom, Charles exercised undivided sway, and his long reign of forty-six years (768-814) was an unbroken record of success and progress. He united the German tribes in the most powerful monarchy of mediæval times, and made the Empire again a world-power comparable to that of the Cæsars, his sway ultimately extending from the Baltic to the Adriatic, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Atlantic to the Slavonic east. Only one ambition then remained, and its fulfilment came when on Christmas Day of the year 800, kneeling before the high altar of St. Peter's in Rome, he received the imperial crown at the hands of

Pope Leo III. amid the resounding acclamations of a countless throng, which saw in his fame the restoration of Rome's majesty: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, the divinely crowned, great, and peace-bringing Emperor of the Romans."

Than Charles the Great the Church never had a more faithful and devoted son. He established his rule on a religious basis, compelling the last of the pagan tribes to accept the new faith; and for once in the life of Christendom "the holy Catholic Church throughout all the world" was something more than a pious fiction. His conception of State and Church was that of an amicable dualism, the duty of the State being to defend the Church with all its secular powers, including the use of the sword when needed, and that of the Church to strengthen the State and its institutions by its influence and sanctions. The Popes willingly accepted the reciprocal arrangement, though never ceasing to cherish the claim of the Church to primacy.

The last fourteen years of his life were a time of comparative tranquillity, and he devoted it to the consolidation of his power. His wish for the union of the Eastern Empire with that of the West remained unfulfilled, but otherwise there remained for him no more worlds to conquer. Within the Frankish monarchy he built up a system of government strong, rigorous, and efficient, yet entailing no violent or unnecessary disturbance of well-tried institutions and customs. While fairly free in form, however, that government continued to be in effect a close autocracy. He abolished the dukes and placed the territories which they had governed under counts, administrative officials who were responsible for the marches (*Marks*), which more and more came into prominence: hence the office of Mark-graf or margrave.

Nominated councils, carefully packed with officers of state, nobles, and bishops on whom he could rely, were convoked twice a year; but the initiation of legislation rested with the Sovereign, and his laws, decrees, and injunctions were promulgated in the form of capitularies.

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Of his executive officers the principal were the counts, who had district assistants. In addition to routine business these officials were responsible for the local administration of justice, but above the local tribunals were revisory itinerant judges (*missi dominici*), two for each province, a nobleman and a bishop, who went on circuit four times a year, holding what would be called to-day assize courts.

Charles was resolute in maintaining order in every department of State life; he insisted on economy in public finance, yet suffered no decline in the strength and efficiency of his army. He gave a great stimulus to the economic life of his realm; he planned and began the construction of a canal between the Danube and the Main, and he encouraged trade and commerce in other ways. Under him education and piety were likewise fostered.

In mind as in body he was made in a heroic mould. He was far in advance of his time in his mastery of the art of government, in his intellectual boldness and originality, his singular insight and understanding of the psychology of statecraft, his clear-sightedness and long views, and his anticipation of many of the political developments of later ages. In matters of religious belief he was guilty of all the intolerance of an age of narrow thought, and he enforced proselytism upon the subjugated tribes with fanatical ardour, yet in this reasons of State were an impelling motive.

Bent upon the unity and consolidation of his realm, he was willing to conciliate to the utmost in pursuance of that aim so long as he was met in the same spirit; but in the repression of opposition and the punishment of disloyalty he could be stern even to brutality. On one occasion he ordered the deportation of ten thousand Saxons from the North Elbe to a more central district as sureties for the fidelity of their compatriots, and had the pledge been broken there would have been a fearful penalty to pay. When the same tribe rebelled and repudiated the new faith, butchered or drove away the Christian priests, and decimated a Frankish army sent to quell

them, he hurried reinforcements to the scene, crushed resistance, and at Verden beheaded in cold blood nearly five thousand of the renegades. Nevertheless, in normal personal intercourse no man was more genial and approachable.

Though ruler of a vast multiracial empire, Germany, and in particular the western part of it, held him to the last, and it was perhaps only there that he felt really at home. Nine times he spent Christmas in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle, but only six times in France; it was at that city also that he was buried in the splendid cathedral of his own building. To the end of his life he remained a German—in his sympathies, his habits and simple manner of life, his speech, and his fondness for the old legends and sagas of his people.

In his later and quieter years he loved the society of men of intellect and letters, inviting them to his courts at Cologne, Tours, and Pavia, and taking them as companions on his journeys about the Empire. The learned Alcuin was his friend. Inviting the Bishop of York to his court in 802, Charles induced him to remain and re-organise the educational system of the monarchy. Alcuin accepted the invitation, and the profound influence which he exerted upon the scholarship and thought of his day earned for him a lasting place in the intellectual history of Germany.

Few figures in secular history have held the imagination of civilised mankind in the same degree as Charlemagne, a name which, after the passing of more than a millennium, still retains, undiminished, a magnetic and fascinating interest. Many years after his death the Church of which he had been so true a son and so zealous a patron canonised him, but his own renown had already immortalised him. Even had history been silent upon his career and exploits, poetry, romance, and legend have perpetuated them in all lands, making him for all time one of the darling heroes of the race.

At one time or another every part of the Empire which he had created and ruled so vigorously has asserted a sort

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of lien upon his fame. If one were to reduce these rival pretensions to serious proportions, perhaps the best and truest that could be said would be that while France may rightly advance historical claims to him, it is Germany who really possesses him; to the one Charles is a symbol of glory and greatness, but to the other he is a vivid, intimate, and endeared personality.

CHAPTER II

PROGRESS AND RELAPSE

(814—973)

It is no true history to write a story which of set purpose shall illustrate, and profess to prove true, certain preconceived axioms. Nevertheless, it may be said at once that German history has been an alternation of great advances and great relapses, of dazzling successes and dismal failures, yet that relapse and failure have never been the last words.

Just as the kingdom of Clovis weakened as soon as it fell into less capable hands, only recovering when the greatest warrior-statesman of mediæval times took the helm in his strong grasp, so when Charlemagne left vacant the throne of the Frankish monarchy and the Roman Empire decline set in for the same reason. No longer did the State function successfully when the master hand was missing. Many of Charles' political ideas and schemes were brilliant, but, as so often happens in the case of forward-looking men, he rated too high the spirit of the time and the intelligence of the rulers who might follow. The imperial title fell to his son Louis I., known as the Pious or the Good-natured (*Débonnaire*). His great failing was his weakness, which often betrayed him into acts both cruel and stupid. On one occasion his folly nearly led to his internment for life in a monastery—the most seemly of the many mediæval devices for getting rid of unpopular Sovereigns. Both the nobles and the heads of

the Church were quick to seize their opportunities, and he became a tool in their hands.

The reign of one futile successor proved sufficient to destroy the unity and undermine the strength of Charlemagne's dominion. Disaster was precipitated by an arrangement by which on Louis' death the eldest and youngest of his sons, Lothaire I. and Charles the Bald, were to divide the realm equally, with the exception of Bavaria, which was reserved for a third son, Louis the German. For when, in 840, Lothaire took over the work of administration, his claims were disputed by the other brothers. A sanguinary campaign having gone against him, and his adherents having no heart for further ordeals by battle, Lothaire proposed a compromise, and the result was the famous Treaty of Verdun (843), by which the Frankish dominion was repartitioned amongst the three brothers, the part which constitutes, substantially, modern Germany falling to Louis the German. Charlemagne's splendid creation thus came to an end, yet the triple division may be said to have been in the natural course of development. The vast realm had become unwieldy; its extent, and still more the diversity of its parts, in race, language, and culture, made a cleavage inevitable; and the spirit of nationality having been already awakened, the cleavage naturally followed broad national lines.

For our purpose, the great significance of the Treaty of Verdun lay in the fact that it was a definite step towards the consolidation of Germany. This eastern kingdom remained in the Carolingian dynasty until the beginning of the following century, being meanwhile increased by the absorption of the German and larger part of Lorraine.

From this point our survey will relate mainly to Germany proper, the rest of the Empire receding in the picture. We have seen how Louis the German received German lands as his share of the Frankish realm. They satisfied him, and through all the revolts and commotions of his time he held fast to them. Yet the old tribal spirit was still far from dead. Saxons and Franks, Swabians

and Bavarians, Thuringians and Lorrainers all eyed each other jealously and suspiciously. They spoke a common language, or dialects of the same, but a common racial consciousness was lacking, and the collective name *Deutsch* (German) had not as yet been coined.

And all the time, encouraged by the growing weakness of the imperial power, the nobles and feudal lords were strengthening their hold upon their lands and privileges, while endeavouring to evade more and more the military obligations which these imposed on them. So loose were the ties which bound the tribes together at the beginning of the tenth century that an incursion of the wild Magyars from the east called forth no concerted effort, and it was left to the individual dukes to rally their people and stem the onrush as best they could and would.

When the German branch of the Carolingian house became extinct, only the Saxons and Franks thought it worth while to elect a new king, in the person of Conrad I., Duke of Franconia, whom the Swabians and Bavarians refused to acknowledge. Conrad might have carried the unity movement a long way forward but for the fact that, with all his other good qualities, he lacked tact and *savoir faire*, trying to drive the nobles instead of leading them, and so alienating those whom he might have made his friends.

With the succession of Henry I., called the Fowler, of the Saxon line, began a new and brilliant epoch in German history. In his relations with the dukes he tried suavity to the utmost, with the result that he won the adhesion of all of them. Concessions were made and ancient tribal rights guaranteed, but the result was that all the five great tribes—Franks, Saxons, Swabians, Bavarians, and Lorrainers—became united in what was to be a truly German monarchy.

In the course of a strenuous and brilliant reign of seventeen years, Henry greatly extended his German realm to the east and north. He made repeated inroads upon the Slavonic tribes beyond the Elbe, and subdued the pagan Wends in the same region; he took Schleswig from

the Danes, and he repulsed repeated raids of the still untamed Hungarians, and ultimately inflicted upon them a crushing defeat which sobered them for many years. In the interest of national defence he developed the old German institution of the *Heerbann*, or general levy of freemen, which had never fallen into desuetude amongst the Saxons, and in order to meet the hard-riding Magyar raiders on their own ground he trained his foot soldiers in equestrian warfare.

He did much also for the civil and social life of the people, and he is famous in German history as an early town-builder. The times were restless and turbulent, and border forays were frequent. In order to cope the better with these, Henry built along the frontiers of Saxony and Thuringia walled and fortified posts, called *Burgen*, surrounded by moats, beneath the shelter of which the peasantry were able to establish their homes and cultivate their lands in tranquillity. In course of time little towns were built around these strongholds, and in order to make them attractive, he conferred upon them market and fair rights and other important privileges. Place names like Merseburg and Quedlinburg (in Prussian Saxony) and others bear witness to this early experiment in town and regional planning.

All in all, the reign of this remarkable man, who in his way was, like Charlemagne, far ahead of his age, may be said to have revived for a time the glory and prestige of the early Carolingian days, and Henry the Fowler is rightly regarded as one of the greatest of the warrior-statesmen produced by the German monarchical system. By labouring so earnestly for his country's good he served equally family interests, for the monarchy and the imperial title remained in the Saxon line for over a century.

It was a great tribute to his work and character that his son Otto I., known as the Great, was crowned king at Aix-la-Chapelle by the unanimous will of all the tribes. He ranks as the foremost figure of his age, and as one of the few really brilliant rulers of Germany and the Empire. He gave back the monarchy the strength and prestige

which it had enjoyed under the great Charles. He developed further the system of feudatory levies, so that the old tradition of voluntary service now practically disappeared, and he added to the marches upon his frontiers, particularly in the east and south. He was also one of the more notable "augmenters of the Empire." His father had hoped to carry his rule as far as England by obtaining for him a wife in the person of Edith, sister of Athelstan. The design failed, but Otto brought Bohemia, Poland, and Denmark under his sway, and his second marriage gave him a claim to the Italian throne. His crowning ambition was realised when, late in his long reign of thirty-seven years (963), he received the imperial crown at the hands of Pope John XII. in Rome.

From the coronation of the Saxon Otto German historians usually date the beginning of the "Roman Empire of the German Nation." That splendid fiction lasted for nearly eight and a half centuries. Doubtless the association of the Empire with the monarchy conferred a great distinction on Germany, yet it had also serious disadvantages for that country, and it became in later ages a barren and empty honour. Its worst effects were that by bringing into the life of Germany foreign influences it held back German development on national lines; by dispersing the activities and resources of the German kings over so large a part of the Western world it impoverished and injured their own land and people, and it led to continual wars in which Germans had no interest, yet for which they had to bleed and pay freely. But, further, a dual arrangement which often kept the German Sovereigns away from home for years together led to long regencies and the devolution of authority in many hands, so encouraging the ambitions and increasing the power of the territorial princes, both temporal and spiritual, and to that extent postponing political unity. Nevertheless, it was in Otto's time that the German tribes first spoke of their language as *Teutsch* or *Deutsch* and began to apply to themselves the same name.

Although in his later years Otto had trouble with both

the Papacy and the revolting Slavonic tribes of his monarchy, his life ended prosperously. When, in his sixtieth and last year he met the Diet of the Empire at Quedlinburg in 973, it was as the head of a German realm extending from the Rhine to the Vistula, consolidated and tranquil. At his death, however, the proud legacy which he left fell into less vigorous and efficient hands, and again for a time there was relapse.

CHAPTER III

THE POPE AND EMPEROR QUARRELS

(1024—1437)

THE Frankish line of Emperors opened with Conrad II. (1024), who was elected in the traditional way of the folk-mote held in the open-air not far from Mayence. Nominally every freeman was entitled to be present and vote at this meeting, but in course of time attendance had become restricted in the main to the prelates (archbishops, bishops, and heads of religious houses) and the nobles (dukes, counts, and others). The first two rulers of this line stoutly maintained the struggle against the rising power of the higher nobles, who, though nominally vassals of the Crown, had strengthened their position by making their fees hereditary, so that the same privilege had to be extended to the lesser nobles and large feudal landowners. A struggle of more immediate importance, however, was that between the Empire and the Papacy.

It was Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) who, in his contest with the Emperor Henry IV. (1056-1106), won for the Papacy its first decisive victory. While still on the threshold of his career Gregory struck a daring blow for the freedom of the Church from secular authority and control in any form. He raised the issue over the question of the investiture of the German bishops, which he claimed to be the exclusive business of the Papacy. Bishops—so his fiat ran—were in future to be elected by the cathedral

chapters, subject to papal confirmation, and no gift to or recognition of the secular power was to take place. This position involved also the annulment of the Emperors' claim that papal elections should receive their confirmation.

By the independence of the Church Gregory meant its supremacy. So stated, the claim now made and the consequences which would follow if it were conceded implied a fundamental readjustment of the balance of power, political as well as spiritual, within the State. Hitherto the prelacy had been at all times a possible and often an actual and valuable counter-check against the encroachments of the superior nobles, and the alliance had been to the advantage of both. But to cede to the spiritual power complete independence would be to clothe it with dangerous authority, and to seriously handicap the Crown in the entire business of government, and most of all in the struggle to maintain its rights as against the noble class. Further, inasmuch as the Church had been endowed by successive Emperors with enormous grants of land, yielding large revenues and carrying feudal rights of great importance, its emancipation would mean the transference from the control of the Crown of a large amount of valuable patronage, which hitherto it had been able to bestow on bishops of known fidelity.

Without hesitation Henry met Gregory's claim by convening a packed council of German bishops, which met at Worms early in 1076 and declared the Pope deposed on frivolous and unproven charges. Gregory answered by employing the most terrible weapon of defence known to the mediæval Church, the ban of excommunication. Henry might have borne the spiritual ignominy of this punishment with serenity had not the political effects been immediately overwhelming. For excommunication meant that every one of his subjects, from the lowest to the highest, in secular and civil life as in spiritual and ecclesiastical, was released from any duty, service, or obligation to him. Outlawed and outcast, he stood isolated, forsaken, and friendless in his mighty realm,

his authority destroyed, his imperial and royal dignities turned to dust and ashes, a pariah among men, against whom any hand might be raised with impunity, to the glory of God and Holy Church.

The extremity of the King was the opportunity of the nobles, and of a people whom his many harsh and unjust acts had turned against him. Discontent and disaffection took active forms, and the princes, meeting in council, served on him an ultimatum warning him that unless he made peace with the Church within a prescribed time they would hold themselves free from further fealty to him. In his desperate straits the King had no choice: and in the depth of the winter of 1076-77 he made the most memorable royal pilgrimage in history. Travelling south, with his loyal wife and a small and melancholy retinue, over frozen rivers and snow-covered mountains, in January he reached the castle of Canossa, on the north-eastern slopes of the Apennines, where Gregory had promised to receive his submission. In order to make the humiliation more complete, the Pope kept the penitent waiting in his dress of sackcloth and bare-footed for three days and nights outside the door of the inner stronghold before admitting him for absolution and release.

But even now the penitent's troubles were not over. In his absence from Germany the princes had chosen another king, his brother-in-law, Rudolph of Swabia. Probably the Pope had a hand in this conspiracy, since Rudolph had promised to acknowledge the papal claims. Disgusted and enraged at the treachery of his nobles and the Pope's duplicity, Henry's manhood revived, and leaving Gregory to act as he thought best, he raised an army of loyal men, which broke down the opposition of the revolting tribes, whose Swabian leader fell in the fray.

Encouraged by this success, he now turned his attention to the Pope, who had excommunicated him a second time. Descending into Italy with his victorious army he forced Gregory to evade capture by flight, and set a new pope in his place in the person of Clement III. Henry reigned until 1106, his later years embittered by the

rebellion of his two sons, both tools in the hands of their father's enemies, the prelates and the nobles. As he died still under the ban of excommunication, the Church which he had offended, remorseless in death as in life, allowed his body to lie in its coffin unburied for five years.

The conflict between State and Church continued under the succeeding Emperor, Henry V., until a compromise was concluded, taking the form of the Concordat of Worms (1122), in which the concessions were made mainly by the Emperor. Perhaps a complete victory for either side might have been for the German nation a happier issue of the struggle than the makeshift arrangement which was accepted, for then at least there would have been a clear if unsatisfactory settlement of an age-old dispute. As it was, the alienation between the Church and the Crown in Germany was never removed; the old conflict broke out again and again in different ways and over different issues, proving an intermittent source of bitterness to the nation at large until our own day.

After the Frankish house came, again with a Conrad (III.), the Hohenstaufens, a family which attained its brightest lustre in the person of Frederick I., known as Barbarossa or Red Beard (1152-90). He was one of the great romantic figures in the history of Germany and of the Empire. Entering upon his reign with the fixed determination to give back to the Empire the strength and prestige which it enjoyed under the great Charles, he ruled with a firm hand, reasserting the position of the Emperor *vis-à-vis* the Papacy, and in Germany drawing tighter the ties which bound the feudal princes to him.

His mind was set on riveting Rome and Italy to the Empire, and in the pursuance of this task he led five warlike expeditions to the peninsula, quelling opposition with stern and at times hideous severity. His anger at the rebellious challenge of Milan was not appeased until the blood of its citizens ran in streams and the city was reduced to cinders. The last of his campaigns ended in the disastrous defeat of Legnano (1176). That defeat he accepted as a sign that, inasmuch as in twenty years of

strife he had failed to impose subjection on his own terms upon either the Papacy or Northern Italy, he was unlikely to succeed in twenty more. He therefore made a lasting peace with both.

In great contrast to Frederick's unstable relations with Italy was his position in Germany. There his popularity was unbounded, for he was the pride of his people; he gave to the land peace and relative prosperity; he strove earnestly to reconcile the tribes, who began to forget the old rancours and divisions; and he retained the goodwill and affection of the bishops even when he was at variance with their Italian head. Under him civil and social life generally fell into a more settled and orderly course; the law was strengthened and justice flourished; he conferred valuable privileges upon many of the old cities and towns, a concession prized by them, but also advantageous to the monarchy, since by winning the attachment of the urban communities he checked the influence of an overweening nobility and prelacy. It was this Emperor who first spoke of the "Holy" Roman Empire of the German nation, so emphasising its claim to be the temporal counterpart of the "Holy" Catholic Church.

In celebration of the conclusion of peace, and simultaneously the admission to knighthood of his two elder sons, the "lord of the world" gathered round him and his consort outside Mayence at Whitsuntide of 1184 the most brilliant assemblage of dignitaries that had ever graced the festive board of a German Sovereign. On the banks of the noble Rhine a town of tents had been built for the reception of the guests. There were bishops, nobles of all degrees, and generals, with envoys from other courts, while on the periphery were serried ranks of war-hardened soldiers and cheering citizens. It is said that 70,000 nobles, knights, and knightly retainers alone were present at the brilliant function.

For five more years he and his warriors lived in quiet; then came the third of the Crusades against the infidels, who had fallen upon and occupied Jerusalem. The irresistible call came to him as it did to Richard the Lion-

hearted of England, and he obeyed it with equal zeal and greater promptitude. Handing the regency to his eldest son Henry, already crowned king, he set out for the holy war in 1189 at the head of the flower of his nobles and fighting men. He reached Iconium on the way to Palestine, but was not fated to see the Holy Land, for in attempting to swim the River Seleph, after being unhorsed by the strong current, he 'overtaxed a strength already hardly tried by a long and arduous march, and though with assistance he reached the farther bank, it was only to lay down and die.

Frederick Barbarossa stands out amongst the German Emperors as a worthy peer of the great Charlemagne; and amongst mediæval warriors none won in a greater degree the admiration of his own and other peoples. As a ruler he had the faults of his age, its ambition and love of power, its hardness and cruelty; yet these were counterbalanced by a statesmanlike love of justice, great breadth of mind, and, where expediency dictated it, a conciliatory spirit. As in the case of Charlemagne, romance and superstition wove many stories, usually of flimsy texture, around his name and personality, and innumerable songs and poems were devoted to his deeds of valour and chivalry. When the news of his death reached Germany his people refused to credit it, and the belief was long cherished that he would one day return at the head of his brilliant army flying the banners of the fallen Mahommedan foe. Credulity went further, for there arose the legend that the Emperor of the Red Beard slept amid his knights in the Kyffhäuser mountain in Thuringia, but would awake and come forth if ever the Empire should need again the help of his strong arm and trusty sword.

After the reign of the Red Beard the glory of the Holy Roman Empire and its annals faded rapidly like an Oriental sunset. Or were those days not so very glorious, after all; and do we so think and call them because they are distant, and because the warlike exploits, the tortuous feats of statecraft, the cunning shifts and stratagems of

emperors and kings, of prelates and priests, which made so much of the history of the mediæval world, are magnified and transfigured by the distorting mists of time? The reign of Frederick II. (1215-50), who ruled the Empire from Italy, was one of great brilliance, but to his northern kingdom, which he visited but once, he meant nothing at all. Certainly for Germany the later imperial lines contained no such largely moulded figures, no names so magnetic, as Charlemagne, Otto the Great, and Barbarossa.

No sooner had Frederick died than the German princes resumed their struggle with the Crown, and after two more reigns the complete victory of "particularism" seemed in sight. The Church was even more aggressive, and for every step gained by the nobles it gained two. The extinction of the Hohenstaufen line a little later was followed by an Interregnum of seventeen years. Then the imperial Crown fell to Count Rudolph of Habsburg (1273), and by one of the ironies of which history is full, his election was secured by the head of a family which, six hundred years later, ejected the Habsburgs from Germany, and took their place in the leadership of the German tribes. This king-maker was his brother-in-law, Frederick III. of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg. The election of a later Emperor, Sigismund (1411), was furthered by another Hohenzollern, Frederick VI., a man of great ability and sound statesmanship, upon whom his Sovereign conferred the march of Brandenburg, with the title of Elector. More famous members of the same family will interest us later.

Great as was the confusion in the Empire at that time, it was equalled by the disorder which reigned in the government of the Church. The Papacy had become the sport of factions, and ecclesiastical discipline everywhere had sunk to a very low level. The rival parties elected their favourites to the Pontificate, the one sitting in Rome and the other at Avignon, where, since 1305, a succession of French popes, instituted and directed by Philip IV. (the Fair) of France, as weapons in his own struggle with

the Church, had held court and intrigued. Church patronage was openly bought and sold; and the moral delinquencies of the hierarchy were the scandal of Christendom. Council after council, called to abate the prevalent abuses, was wrecked by the opposition and manœuvring of unscrupulous pontiffs, both real and spurious; and a popular reform movement in Bohemia led only to the martyrdom of its leader, John Huss (who had been influenced by John Wickliffe), and the learned Hieronymus (1415 and 1416), to the alienation of practically the entire nation from the Church, and to a Holy War in which the Emperor's armies contended in vain with the insurgents. Before matters could be better in the Church they had to become worse.

In the meantime an event occurred which greatly strengthened the Papacy. It was the passing of the imperial office on the death of Sigismund (1437) to the house of Habsburg. Frederick VI. of Hohenzollern was himself in the running this time, but he was too masterful a man for his fellow-Electors, and they chose the Austrian Albert II. From that time the imperial dignity remained in the Habsburg dynasty, with two short intermissions, until the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation came to an end. It was not a line of brilliant statesmen, but one of the earliest, Maximilian, a man of knightly character, stands high in the front rank. He was the real founder of the Austrian monarchy.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

(1100—1400)

It is customary to point to the mediæval period as one of great progress in Germany, and accepting the term mediæval in its widest sense this is justifiable. The brilliant reign of Charlemagne gave a marked impetus to

learning, but the range of its immediate influence was limited, and it was only from the thirteenth century forward, and particularly under the influence of the Renaissance, that a really powerful quickening came to the intellectual and social life of the nation.

Poetry began to flourish from the end of the twelfth century under the later Hohenstaufens. Its themes were for the most part epical—the exploits of legendary and tribal heroes, famous kings and knights, of sanguinary fights and gallant tourneys. It was the time of the Minnesingers, or minstrels, whose lyrics were mostly of chivalry and the love of women, yet without the sensuous and erotic bias of the typical Provence troubadour songs of the same period. The names of over three hundred of these mediæval singers, many of whom belonged to noble families, have been preserved; the best known is Walter von der Vogelweide, who is represented in every anthology of German classical verse. From early in the thirteenth century dates the dramatic Nibelung song, with its story of the loves and hates, the crafts and intrigues of Siegfried and Gunther, Kriemhild and Brunhilde.

The centuries named may be regarded as the hey-day time of the knights, who figure largely in the history and legendary lore of the time, lording it in their castles, not always gently, eager contestants at joust and singifg bout, yet ready at all times to fare forth to any point of the compass where adventure was to be found and honour won. In general, that was an age of travelling. Not only soldiers of fortune, but monks, scholars, and students, minstrels and jesters, merchants and artisans were always on the road in pursuit of their special interests, and often the quest of knowledge, curiosity, or the love of adventure took them abroad—to Italy, France, England, and elsewhere.

At a time when States were being organised and civilisation was still taking shape the Church was the one stable structure in the social architecture. Emperors might be powerful, but they were not omnipresent, and not seldom their lieutenants were too zealous in their

own affairs to give due care to those of their supreme lord. But the Church was everywhere, and its authority, permeating every department of social life, was one and undivided. It was, therefore, as much to the interest of the temporal as of the spiritual potencies that this bulwark of order and authority should be efficient and sufficiently strong—though not too strong—for the functions required of it.

High or low, all people were nominally its children, and as such equally subject to its discipline. Emperors and nobles might defy each other, but the last thing they thought of was defiance of the Church, in whose hands were the keys of heaven and hell. It was at the behest of the Church that the most powerful rulers in Christendom, with nobles and knights numberless, undertook between the end of the eleventh and the end of the thirteenth century the many crusades to Palestine for the deliverance of the Holy Places from infidel hands.

Through its control of monasteries, universities, seminaries, and schools the Church was the centre of such learning and science as the times produced, and because the truth flowed forth pure at the source it sharply corrected the arrogance and impiety which dared to tamper with or defile it. Requiring fidelity in doctrine and belief, as well as in act, it held over the head of heretic and doubter the ban of excommunication, with a mechanism of torture whose work fills many dark pages of history. It forgave (and also committed) sins as well as punished them, always in return for penitence performed, as attested by works, the character of which depended upon the station and wealth of the sinner—it might be the building of a church, the endowment of an abbey, a pilgrimage to some shrine, or, on the other hand, only a time of easy fasting, or a small contribution to Peter's Pence. An institution so unique in position and authority could not be ignored or resisted with impunity.

The fourteenth century was, on the whole, a lean period for letters, though together with the didactic verse of scholarly writers a popular type of lyrical poetry came

with the Meistersingers. The earliest of these continued the tradition of the court minstrels of whom mention has been made. We now hear of them in the form of choirs or choruses composed of burghers and artisans. They displayed their art in churches, schools, and other public places, but their songs also contributed greatly to the gaiety and success of the seasonal festivities which played so large a part in mediæval town life.

The drama was already taking a more definite form. Down to the fourteenth century it had been represented by religious plays of the "mystery" or "miracle" class, with Biblical plots more or less artistically put together, and these plays were usually reserved for the high festivals of the Church year. Gradually, however, the producers of these religious dramas were emboldened to widen their field, while still investing their plays with an ecclesiastical atmosphere, and Shrove Tuesday or carnival masques became common in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the succeeding century was developed the formal secular drama, of which Hans Sachs was the best known exponent, and at the end of that century began the visits to Germany of the English strolling players, with their hilarious comedies and rude properties.

There was a marked increase of wealth in the late mediæval times, and many of the towns flourished exceedingly. Material prosperity reacted favourably upon art in various directions. Of that time Germany possesses many memorials in the noble cathedrals, abbeys, and churches, and imposing castles, town halls, and merchant guild-houses which may be seen in towns on the Rhine and in the central and southern parts of the country.

Nevertheless, the passing of the Hohenstaufen dynasty and the long Interregnum which followed were the prelude of much political restlessness and disorder in social life. It was a reaction natural to the exhaustion of a great epical period. The glamour of the Crusades had faded away; stagnation and sterility in intellectual life set in, for the Emperors were too busy fighting with the popes and the nobles to have time for the patronage

of letters or music or art. The prelacy and clergy fell into a morass of superstition and corruption which was to make a Reformation necessary if the Church and religion were still to hold a place in the life of the people. A deplorable feature of the times was the degeneracy of the knighthood, which, having outlived its usefulness and shed its earlier idealism, now found satisfaction in a life of empty indulgence or insolent lawlessness. Feudalism was at the height of its influence, and nowhere were the conditions which it imposed upon the rural population so intolerable as in North Germany.

It was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the abuses of the "robber-knights," around whose wild and often infamous exploits so much misplaced romance has gathered, specially flourished. Henry the Fowler built his strongholds in order that the peasants and their families might live and follow their occupations in tranquillity and security. The castles of these renegade knights, who knew neither law, right, nor morality, were abodes of crime from which they sallied forth unhindered to pillage, slay, and deflower. Wherever these pests established themselves the people of the villages and countryside lived in constant terror, never sure of property or life. At any time the peasant's cottage was liable to be burned over his head by a neighbouring knight, with his gang of drunken boon companions and brutal hangers-on, his wife and daughters to be violated, his cattle to be driven away, and his crops to be trampled beneath the foot of horse and man. Even the recognised trade routes, along which in the quieter days caravans of lumbering waggons and strings of pack-horses laden with merchandise regularly travelled to and fro, none doing them hurt, were no longer safe, and merchants had to go about their business heavily protected by armed guards.

Granting that these abuses were not inherent in the feudal system, they were outgrowths of it, and feudal conditions at the best meant misery and degradation to the mass of the countryfolk. Resentment and hatred were

impotent, however, where power was wanting; yet more and more they gained voice, until protest took the form of the peasant risings of Luther's time.

The towns were better off, since they were strong enough to protect themselves. From the twelfth century they enjoyed a long spell of growth and prosperity. Many of the older seats of Roman influence, or of flourishing trade and commerce, became Imperial Cities, and as such were governed directly by the Emperor, and were not subject to the jurisdiction of the territorial princes. Pre-occupation with political and military affairs allowed the Emperors and princes but little time for matters of local government, while continual want of money made them only too willing to confer local rights and privileges, like market charters and the right to levy tolls and dues and to exercise jurisdiction, in return for liberal subsidies. The Emperors in particular often found the towns useful auxiliaries in their conflicts with the bishops and nobles, and for friendly services thus rendered they paid in new extensions of local autonomy.

German historians of municipal government hold that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the halcyon period of urban life and administration, and that never before or since did the towns possess, on the whole, such wide powers and so large a measure of independence as then. Some of the mediæval towns exercised sovereign functions, accumulated vast estates and much fluid wealth, maintained armies and fleets, and lorded it with the foremost rulers of the Empire. When they combined for mutual defence they became a power of which the strongest of territorial rulers, and even the Emperor himself, had to take serious account.

Nothing could better illustrate the opulence, pride, and power of the German cities in late mediæval times than the famous Hanseatic League, a corporation of merchant adventurers formed and operating on grandiose lines. For these adventurers were not individual traders, but whole communities, acting together in a vast and powerful aggregation, which at one time numbered ninety sea-

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port and inland towns. It carried on operations in England, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other countries, having trading colonies and depôts in coastal towns. It even became a maritime and military power of the first rank, able to wage war with States, dictate terms to kings, and sweep its enemies off the seas.

At the close of the mediæval epoch came the Renaissance, slowly creeping over Europe like a dawn. The revival of learning, which had begun in Italy early in the fourteenth century, reached Germany only in the following century, being reinforced by two events momentous in the history of knowledge. One was the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453), leading to the dispersal all over Europe of Greek scholars and the throwing open to the entire learned world of the wealth of Hellenic and Latin letters and philosophy. The other was the discovery in the middle of that century of the art of printing from movable letters. It was made by Johannes Gutenberg at Mayence, and the sack of that Rhenish town soon afterwards published abroad a process which might otherwise have remained for a long time a jealously guarded and commercially exploited secret. The result was that the invention rapidly became common property, and the improved printing press proved the herald of a great intellectual revival.

The German Renaissance took root first in the south, the traditional home of German culture, where cities like Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Strassburg became centres of intellectual influence, and from the south it spread to the north. That the movement did not find the Germans unready or irresponsive is proved by the fact that while five universities had been founded in the fourteenth century nine others followed in the fifteenth. Yet, divided as Germany was by tribal, political, and ecclesiastical contentions, the Renaissance never became national in the same degree that it did in the Latin countries. Moreover, its quickening and broadening influence upon thought was limited by the fact that it took a strongly theological bias, which reached fuller expression in the Reformation

movement of the following century. Nor can it be said to have introduced any very powerful leaven of refinement into social life. The new ardour for learning influenced the territorial aristocracy far less than the urban burgher class and the undowered order of lower nobles allied to it in material status. It is interesting to recall the fact that as late as the end of the fifteenth century the Mark of Brandenburg was one of the most backward parts of Germany, alike in material prosperity, enlightenment, and morality. Customs and manners were crude in the extreme, and drunkenness, nastily known as "drinking oneself full," was common in all ranks of society, the clergy being as bad as the rest.

CHAPTER V

THE REFORMATION

(1517—1648)

HISTORICAL epochs are, as a rule, only rough guesses in chronology, for the movements which mark definite departures and new beginnings in a nation's life seldom come with a single clear spring. It was so with the German Reformation. That event, so momentous in the history of modern thought and spiritual life, may be dated quite justifiably from different years. The Germans accept the year 1517, when the Mansfeld miner's son, Martin Luther, affixed to the door of a Wittenberg church his famous ninety-five theses aimed against the traffic in indulgences.

But there were religious reformers before Luther: in the fourteenth century John Wickliffe in England, in the fifteenth John Huss and Hieronymus in Bohemia. It has been shown also how reform movements had already arisen in the Church itself, and had led to constitutional changes for the better, though leaving unaltered the abuses in doctrine and practice which were most repugnant to pious souls, amongst both the clergy and the

laity. Councils of the Church had been tried again and again; popes had been dethroned and replaced; yet still the scandalous incongruity continued of a spiritual and sacred institution which could adapt its conduct to the lowest secular standards of morality.

Luther's father had been ambitious to see his studious son rise in social position as a lawyer, but Martin was drawn to the religious life. After completing his studies at Erfurt University he became a monk of the Augustine Order at the age of twenty-two, and three years later a professor of theology at the newly-founded University of Wittenberg. A pious, unsophisticated believer, even at that time he looked aghast at much in the life and doctrine of the Church that seemed like the veriest travesty of the Christian faith. He saw with pain how pontiffs of evil life were advancing the impious claim to be vice-gerents of the Deity, and with pity how the minds of the people were confused and their consciences blunted by being taught that their worst sins and crimes might be atoned for by fasting, penance, pilgrimage, and money payments.

Shocked by the trafficking in indulgences, as carried on by the Dominican monk Johann Tetzel for the purpose of raising money for the building of St. Peter's in Rome, he nailed his multiple protest to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. The daring act was a challenge to the Church to a conflict *à outrance*. Pope Leo X. called Luther to Rome, there to answer for his arrogance, but for the present a conference with an Italian Cardinal was arranged at Augsburg. Three long discussions led to a negative result, for the simple reason that while the Cardinal, in defending indulgences, took his stand upon the writings of certain of the Church Fathers, Luther, in attacking them, appealed to Holy Scripture. A three weeks' disputation with the militant doctor of divinity, Johann Eck, ended similarly.

For a time the reformer continued to write and teach unhindered, being encouraged by popular support and the sympathy of the Elector Frederick I., ruler of his native

Saxony. Then followed the Pope's Bull of excommunication, which he burnt, and a summons to appear before the Diet at Worms, there to justify his conduct. When warned of the risk he might undergo in complying with this summons, he replied, "Were there as many devils in Worms as tiles on its house roofs, still I should go!" He went, and in the presence of the Emperor, his brilliant retinue, and the assembled estates, he was bidden to recant his errors. He refused, declaring that as he based his attitude on Holy Scripture, the only refutation which he could accept must have the same sanction. He added: "Here I stand; I can do no other—God help me!"

The Elector now openly espoused his cause, but the Emperor was against him, and taking its cue from him, the Diet, by edict, forbade the further propagation of the monk's heresies and pronounced sentence of outlawry upon him. For a year Luther lived in safe privacy in the Wartburg overlooking Eisenach, and meanwhile the doctrines of the Reformation overspread Northern Germany like a flood. Auxiliaries of influence also rallied to the reformer's side—amongst theologians Philip Melancthon, Zwingli, and less-known men, amongst the nobility the knight Franz von Sickingen, who raised the sword in the cause of religious and political liberty, and Ulrich von Hutten, who fought with his pen the despotism both of the Church and of secular rulers alike.

A factor of great importance in determining the course of the German Reformation was the absence in its early stages of a ruler strong and independent enough to carry with him the entire princely order. The Emperor was the most powerful monarch of his age, but, his chief interests being in Austria and Italy, he cared little for Germany, and moreover he feared a breach with the Papacy. The consequence was that, although honestly wishful to see the abuses in the Church removed, he held a halting attitude until the firm stand made by Rome compelled him to throw his influence against the reform movement. He was zealously supported by the ruler of

Bavaria, who had constituted himself the special defender of the old faith in Germany.

The most consistent allies of Luther and his work were the two Electors of Saxony, Frederick and his brother John, of the Ernestine line, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and Albert of Brandenburg, Master of the German Order of Knights. The Electors of Brandenburg, shrewd and calculating as ever, foreseeing a conflict out of which neither side was likely to emerge with advantage, did not for some time commit themselves. Nominally they accepted the new faith, like the majority of their people, but they were concerned more for the interests of their dominion than for the spiritual issues at stake.

Perhaps of the majority of the princes, whether they supported or opposed the Reformation, it must be said that they were no more influenced by zeal for the Church and righteousness than was Henry VIII. Where the new faith was accepted, or enforced, it was done usually as an act of State, and the ruler had made up his mind that the State stood to gain by the transaction; for there were Church and monastic lands to be redistributed, and as a rule the reforming Sovereign, while providing for the future needs of religion, philanthropy, and perhaps for education, thought it meet to share in the spoil. Not seldom, also, proselytism proved a successful coup in the game of dynastic rivalry, or opposition to it a sure way to imperial favour.

The consequence was that the Reformation, far from uniting and strengthening Germany, proved for a long time a new source of dissension and weakness. Nevertheless, the movement had a profound influence upon the life of the people. Wherever the new faith was accepted with a sincere appreciation of its spiritual significance, this influence was at once seen in purer morals, more orderly conduct, and a healthier domestic discipline.

The Reformation continued to make progress, and in 1526 the princes who had embraced it were sufficiently strong in numbers and influence to induce the Diet of Speyer to adopt the maxim *cujus regio ejus religio*, there-

with affirming the rulers' right of self-determination in confessional doctrine. Three years later, however, at a Diet held in the same place, the Austro-Bavarian party succeeded in obtaining the adoption of a resolution calling for the more stringent enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The Evangelicals stoutly protested, and now took the name "Protestant." Rejecting their protest the Emperor called another Diet at Augsburg (1530). There the reformers put forward a pronouncement which had been prepared by Melancthon—the *confessio Augustana*—as a formal declaration of faith, and it was duly countered by a refutation drawn up by the authoritative spokesmen of the Church. The Emperor arbitrarily closed the debate, and called on the Protestants to cease their opposition until a Œcumenical Council could be convened to pronounce upon the question finally, threatening them that unless they returned to the old faith by the following April their heresies should be forcibly suppressed. The effect of this threat was the formation of the Schmalkalden League, an alliance of princes and Free Cities for the defence of liberty of conscience and belief.

During the next few years the reformed faith continued to make great headway, and new adherents were gained amongst the rulers, including at last the Elector of Brandenburg, now Joachim II. The long delayed Œcumenical Council was held at Trent in December, 1545, but some of the more powerful Protestant princes declined to attend, declaring that the only tribunal to which they were prepared to submit was a purely German Council. Bent on adopting repressive measures, the Emperor now entered into an alliance with the Pope, who undertook to provide him with men and money, and the Schmalkalden War began in 1546. In the same year Luther died, but his doctrines were too deeply rooted in the thought and life of Germany to suffer check.

From the first the League fought against hopeless odds, for while some of the Protestant princes, including two Electors, remained neutral, the Emperor had behind him

an army of superior strength, largely recruited in Roman Catholic Spain and influenced by hatred of the heretics, and also brilliantly led. First the south and then the north was subdued, until the imperial power was completely re-established in Germany. The Augsburg Interim (1548) made temporary concessions of slight value to the Protestants, but it practically maintained intact the old faith and secured the Church in its traditional rights.

The Reformation seemed to have been checked, yet when the outlook seemed darkest the entire situation was changed by a revolt against the Emperor and "Spanish slavery," led by Duke Maurice of the Saxon Albertine line, an apostate Protestant noble who had been the second in command of the imperial army, and for his services had received his cousin's electorate, yet who now was smitten by compunction. The Emperor, taken by surprise, found safety only by flight into Austria, and within a month all Germany was in the hands of his enemies. The Treaty of Passau was concluded, and three years later (1555), somewhat modified, it became law of the Empire in the historical Religious Peace of Augsburg. The most important provision was the reassertion of the doctrine of State self-determination in the matter of corporate faith, subject to the proviso that those of a ruler's subjects who were unable to accept the established order were to be free to leave the country. A further article laid down the principle of equal civil rights for Roman Catholic and Protestant estates, though in the case of Protestants only adherents of the Augsburg Confession were implied, the idea being to discourage sectarianism, which was becoming rampant in Germany. This restriction, therefore, excluded the adherents of what was known as the "reformed" faith—in other words, the followers of Zwingli and Calvin.

The greatest result of the Reformation for Germany, next to the widening of the limits of intellectual liberty, was the legal admission into the life of the State of a Church and a religious faith which were entirely independent of Roman Catholicism and the Papacy. Within

that Church episcopacy gave place to the presbyterial form of government, symbolism and ornament were reduced to a minimum, and the forms of public worship generally were revised in the direction of greater simplicity and inwardness.

Education benefited greatly by the new movement, not merely because the tyranny which had lain so long upon the human mind was now broken, but because in the redistribution of the property of the expropriated churches, abbeys, bishoprics, and orders, large values in lands and money were assigned to the foundation and maintenance of schools and colleges.

Luther himself cared more for the Bible and religion than for learning, and his idea of the proper curriculum of a primary school would have delighted our present-day reactionaries, yet he wrote many true and notable things in praise of public education. In 1524 he published an "open letter" addressed to "the mayors and councillors of all towns in the German lands," exhorting them to give more attention to education. "For," he said, "the prosperity of a town does not consist alone in the collection of great treasures, strong walls, beautiful houses, much arms and armour . . . but its best and richest prosperity, its health and strength, are seen when it has many refined, learned, intelligent, honourable and well-bred citizens." There is a Ruskinian ring about these words clear enough to remind us how little is new beneath the sun.

When it is asked how the Reformation struggles left Germany politically, the answer is not so satisfactory. For to political and tribal divisions had been added the even deeper alienation caused by religious contention and bigotry, and the prospect seemed remote that the peoples composing the German Empire could ever be one in mind and heart. There was also a danger that the Empire would have to reckon permanently with two potentates, one secular, the Emperor, the other spiritual, the Papacy, each jealous of the other's authority and claims. The Reformation had also made more definite the cleavage

between the north and the south. The north had borne the largest share of the late struggle, and was marked out as the great hope and stay of the new faith. Bavaria in the south, entrenched behind the Papacy, had acclaimed itself, what with brief intermissions it has ever proved since, the stronghold of obscurantism. The west, too, had clung tenaciously to the old ways, but for this there were special reasons, particularly the fact that the west was the seat of ancient Roman influence and the home of the old spiritual principalities.

Most important of all, the Reformation had enormously strengthened the principle of territorial sovereignty. There could be no doubt that rulers who had already won for themselves so large a measure of independence of the Empire, and asserted the right to determine separately the official religious faith of their realms, would not rest until their power had been put beyond possibility of dispute. It had become the privilege of the rulers to define "liberty," and it was no accident that the juridical phrase "German liberty" meant the sovereignty of the particularist princes. What happened in the later developments of political and religious life in Germany was bound to happen. Already in the sixteenth century the dark shadow of autocracy lay upon the land.

By the Reformation Germany had won a great measure of intellectual emancipation. It had let loose new forces and impulses which, if wisely used and directed, might have given her a long period of unbroken progress. Culture had a new chance, and there was advance in material things. Well would it have been had the two warring sections of the nation now turned from dogmatical and confessional contentions, and learning from bitter experience the futility of all attempts to define the indefinable, to solve the insoluble, and to reconcile the irreconcilable, had sensibly agreed to differ. That did not happen. It is true that with the conclusion of the Augsburg Peace the fires of religious discord and hatred were damped down, but they were not extinguished. For two generations they smouldered, then

broke out anew in the Thirty Years' War. In that struggle France, glad of any pretext for meddling in German affairs, and eager to see Spanish power broken, sided with the Protestant princes, and Spain with the Emperor and his allies.

Except for the student of military science it is usually more profitable to trace the effects than the causes of wars, for though neither effects nor causes have ever yet taught nations the futility of wars, the latter are as a rule bafflingly complex, while the former are at least visible and usually comprehensible. Suffice it to say, therefore, that this great war merely continued in more primitive form the disputes which a whole century of wordy strife had failed to decide. It was in truth not one war, but a succession of wars, in part fought between different national and military combinations. For not only the German tribes, the Bohemians, and the Hungarians, but most of the West and North European States—France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Sweden—were drawn in at one time or another. Germany was the principal battle ground, however, and in addition to the incalculable loss and misery which was inflicted upon the country, its civilisation was thrown back for generations.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) settled the religious dispute, as far as religious disputes are capable of settlement, and also created a new political order in Germany. As concerned the rival confessions, it confirmed the Treaty of Passau and the Augsburg Peace, conceded to the Calvinists (the "reformed" party) the rights secured to the Lutheran Protestants, established more firmly the principle of confessional equality, and laid down rules relating to the future ownership of ecclesiastical property by the two confessions.

Politically it recognised the territorial sovereignty of the princes, even to the extent of giving them the right to conclude alliances with each other and with foreign Powers so long as they were not directed against the Emperor or the Empire. The treaty also made many important territorial changes, mostly to the prejudice of

the Empire. Of German princes the crafty Electors of Brandenburg, who had kept cool heads throughout the long troubles and had played their cards well, received part of Pomerania and a number of towns elsewhere, while Bavaria, now for over twenty years an Electorate, received the Upper Palatinate.

France, who had long been scheming to reach the Rhine, secured the rights of Austria in relation to Alsace and Lorraine (Strassburg and the Alsatian bishoprics and abbacies remaining for the present part of the Empire) and also obtained the formal recognition of her claim to the bishoprics and towns of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had seized in 1552 and had retained ever since. Sweden received, as feuds of the Empire, Hither-Pomerania (Prussia taking Further-Pomerania, the poorer part), the Island of Rügen, and the mouth of the Oder, with Wismar and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, having henceforth seat and vote in the German Diet; but Bremen itself became an Imperial City.

By this treaty Germany ceded some 40,000 miles of territory, a large part of it passing into the hands of France, from which she was now separated by an unnatural and indefensible frontier. Nor was that the worst. Let the reader look at any map of Germany as the Peace of Westphalia left her, and he will see a bewildering multiplicity of independent territories dotted over her entire surface, some large but most of them small, and in many cases mere pin-heads in the picture, constituting an ill-assorted medley of isolated enclaves, incapable of orderly life, yet breaking up the unity and coherence of what might already have been a great, powerful, and in the main a homogeneous political unit.

The Peace of Westphalia sentenced Germany to a long period of impotence, and pronounced the doom of the Empire, which from that time fell more and more into decay, until it became a mere shadow sovereignty, devoid of reality, and a thing of ridicule. Though, however, the Emperor now ceased to play a prominent part in the life and affairs of Germany, his place was taken by a power

far more dangerous. The long reign of Louis XIV. (1643-1713) synchronised with the growing domination of France in Western Europe in virtue of military power and dexterous statecraft. Although his hope of securing the imperial crown was frustrated, Louis appropriated more German lands, both in Alsace and Lorraine, including that most German city Strassburg.

Throughout the Continental wars of the next century and a half Germany was the cockpit in which the armies of foreign Sovereigns and ambitious pretenders contended, and the blood of her sons continued to flow freely in quarrels over matters which to them were usually of but the smallest concern.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAKERS OF PRUSSIA

(1620—1786)

It is time to make more particular reference to a ruling family which for some generations had been steadily gaining prominence in Germany, the Hohenzollerns, and to that end we must go back for a moment. It is a noteworthy fact that the Hohenstaufens, Guelphs, and Hohenzollerns, who came into contact so often and at so many points in the course of German history from mediæval times forward, all sprang from South Germany, and indeed from localities not far separated. On the death of Frederick, the first Brandenburg Elector, already mentioned (1440), the line was continued in the person of Frederick II., called "of the Iron Tooth," a strong man who sternly kept order in his territory; adding to it the New Mark, a territory lying between the River Oder and Poland, with a view to stemming encroachments from the east; breaking the wills of unruly towns; and in other ways broadening and strengthening further the foundations which were one day to bear the weight of a great and powerful State. He made Berlin his capital, and

began the building of the famous Castle there, the residence of later Prussian Electors and Kings, and of the German Emperors from 1871 forward.

Albert III. (Achilles), his brother, followed him. He was a born fighter, and a knightly one, never happier than when in the thick of a fray, no matter where or what the cause of dispute—a thickly-made, stumpy man, covered with wounds and scars from head to foot, whose very bones and marrow tingled with the joy of combat. The Empire had no more faithful servant, nor was his devotion diminished when he saw his hopes of succeeding to its crown frustrated. After his death in 1486 the prestige of the family for a time waned. Fathers might call their sons Hector, Nestor, Cicero, and Alcibiades as they would; yet fine Greek and Roman names made neither great soldiers nor brilliant statesmen; and a century and a half passed before successors appeared who were able to take up and carry forward the broken tradition.

With the accession of Frederick William, worthily known as the Great Elector (1640), Brandenburg became a power which henceforth had to be seriously reckoned with in Europe. For the expansion of the electoral realm had made unbroken progress, territory after territory being acquired by diplomacy, war, marriage, or purchase, until the greater part of the later Prussian monarchy was now under Hohenzollern rule. If the rulers of Prussia rendered no other service of value to Germany they set the other princes a brilliant example of how a loosely jointed feudal territory might be transformed into a well-organised State. The Great Elector can claim the principal credit for this achievement, since he first systematically began the work. He gave to Prussia order and good government, developed its resources, built canals and roads, and encouraged commerce in many other ways. Late in his reign he even established a trading colony on the Guinea coast of West Africa, and though it was eventually sold to the Dutch the colonial idea never afterwards left the German mind. He was also

the first Brandenburg ruler who seriously challenged the claim of France to control the destinies of Germany.

His son, Frederick III., elevated the electorate into a kingdom, crowning himself at Königsberg (1701) as Frederick I. To his reign fell the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13), in which Prussia, Hanover, Saxony, and some of the smaller German States took the Emperor's side, while Bavaria was the ally of France. The great generals in that war, however, were neither Prussian nor yet German, but the Austrian Prince Eugene and the English Marlborough, whose Government and country fought not against Maria Theresa but her patron, France.

Something of an æsthete, the first King of Prussia loved pomp and show, and spent money lavishly on building castles and monuments, and beautifying his capital, with the result that he left the public coffers empty and his people oppressed by taxation.

Profiting by his father's bad example Frederick William I. devoted his life to straightening the tangle which he found awaiting him. He was the second of the three real makers of Prussia, the Great Elector and his own son, Frederick the Great, being the others. He colonised the empty spaces with agriculturists, and being himself as good a farmer as a soldier he made the Crown domains models of how large estates should and could be managed. He did much to raise the standard of craftsmanship, and promoted the textile and other manufactures, forbidding his subjects to buy from abroad woollen goods which could be produced at home. So far did his concern for the woollen industry go that he would stop on the street women wearing the more usual calico, and order the unpatriotic garment to be discarded on the spot. He enforced sumptuary regulations against women, tabooing Paris fashions and costly or immodest attire of any kind, and a red dress was as inflammatory to him as to a mad bull. He reorganised taxation in such wise that it yielded larger revenue with less hardship and inconvenience to the community. One

of his most sensible fiscal reforms was to require people who hankered after titles to pay dearly for their vanity.

The motto of his life and policy was "Work," and he was a terror to all idlers. When word ran along the streets of Berlin that the King was out and about, loungers fled for covert, and every workman within sight put the last ounce of energy into his task. Nor was he neglectful of education. During his reign of twenty-seven years he established a thousand new village schools of sorts in the province of East Prussia alone.

He was the first Prussian ruler who systematically trained his subjects to obedience and discipline. It is said that the word "subordination" came into currency in Germany for the first time under this despotic King. That over-emphasis came to be given to obedience and docility in civic and political life could not be seen at once, but the effect became obvious enough in later history. Like the Spartan he was, he set the example of severity and frugality of life in the royal palace, keeping a simple court, wasting no money on show or indulgence, forbidding waste and useless outlay, getting money's value for every thaler that was spent, or making someone suffer for it, and seeing that his servants did their duty to him and the commonwealth. He had also a stern sense of right, if at times somewhat primitive ways of asserting it. Under him the laws were administered severely yet with impartial hand. As a ruler he may have been "a beast" yet at least he was "a just beast," meting to all his subjects equally a fough, rule-of-thumb justice, yet putting down crime and faction with a merciless hand.

His only pleasure was that which he derived from the Tobacco Council (Tabakskollegium) which usually followed long days filled with duties and activities of every imaginable kind. In that congenial symposium he met his generals, ministers, and other people who happened to appeal to him at the moment. Then the stern King abandoned himself to free and easy intercourse; bizarre experiences, coarse jests, and unmentionable

stories were exchanged, opinions given and taken, and not seldom serious acts of State decided under the stimulating influence of smoke and beer.

It was under this ruler that the modern Prussian military system was founded. A French report written from Berlin in 1723 stated: "The customary conversation of our scholars, clergymen, burghers, and even of our ladies centres only in military matters." Not much fighting fell to him, for Prussia's greatest campaigns of that century came in the following reign, but the army was his idol and its care his great passion. In order to make sure of a sufficiency of good soldiers he had children of school age sworn in; and the hapless creatures from that time wore red collar bands in token of their military fate. Such was his mania for tall soldiers that his recruiting agents scoured his own and other lands in search of them, empowered to buy them up at any price.

All in all, Frederick William I. was an original such as human nature produces but once in a century or perhaps a millennium. He was a strong man, every inch of him, though hard, uncouth, unlicked, even savage, and not without coarseness; yet on the whole perhaps the ruler whom his country and his time needed.

It was in a cheerless and loveless home that Frederick II., known as the Great, was born, and dragged and flogged through boyhood to adolescence. No beggar's brat had a harder youth than this son of a royal martinet. But it made of him a man strong as a rock, with a will of iron, and a concentration of purpose such as was never excelled.

Out of Germany it is as a soldier that Frederick II. is chiefly known and his reputation estimated. Of fighting he had his fill, and more than need was. All Germany had been drawn into the War of the Spanish Succession, willy-nilly; but the three Silesian wars with Austria (1740-63) were of his own planning, though several of the other German States took part, either with or against Prussia. By that successful enterprise he made a large addition to his monarchy and left it the peer of France

amongst the great military Powers of Europe. Yet again the nation paid heavily for its ruler's exploits and glory, for Prussia was left decimated in population and once more impoverished and burdened with taxation. To the instigation of Frederick was also due the first partition of Poland (1772) in which Russia and Austria shared.

Frederick's greatest service to his kingdom came when, his wars over, he was able to give thought to the urgent tasks of renewal and reorganisation. To these tasks were devoted the remaining twenty-three years of his life. His long campaigns had brought disaster to every class of the population. A large proportion of the sons of the nobility had fallen; most of the tradesmen of the towns had been ruined; and the peasants and rural labourers had fared no better. Frederick saw that the country's need was a larger and more affluent population, and he knew that it could come only by works of development. So, like his father, he gave unceasing care to the encouragement of agriculture and industry. He assisted the peasants to increase their crops, compelled them to plant fruit-trees on suitable land, and improved both flocks and herds by importing superior breeding animals. He planted forests, drained marshes, and made more canals and roads. He revived old and created new industries, importing Dutch and Flemish craftsmen for the purpose. With his encouragement and the help of subsidies iron and steel, wool and silk, paper and sugar manufactories, with cotton spinning, weaving, and printing works, came into being. He also did much for education, and the schools of the people were multiplied. By these and other measures he was able to vitalise rural life and stimulate the growth of the towns; everywhere mendicancy ceased, and the public health improved.

Not less strongly but far more intelligently than his father he insisted on the impartial administration of justice. By the careful choice of judges, and by making it clear that the law of the land must go before even royal privilege, he increased public respect for the courts, which had been shaken by his father's rough-

handed and often barbarous methods of discouraging wrong-doing; so that where the law had aforetime been obeyed from fear, it now enjoyed the citizen's confidence. While he inherited all the paternal concern for his legitimate political rights, his rule, without being less efficient, was milder and more beneficent; it was the rule of a man and not of a soulless machine.

No Sovereign was ever more conscious of duties to his subjects or sought to discharge them more faithfully according to his lights. He wrote "The Prince is the first servant of the State," and he acted upon that maxim. When the recipients of his solicitude protested their gratitude, he replied: "You have no need to thank me; it is my duty to help my unfortunate subjects: that is why I am here." Flattery and servility of every kind he despised, and when on one occasion a snobbish pastor, whom Nature intended to be a footman, was beginning to baptise an officer's child in his presence "In the name of Frederick the Great," he called out: "Don't be a fool; baptise as your office bids you!" He even altered the liturgical prayer for the Sovereign, so that he was no longer commended to divine care as "His Majesty, our dearest King," but as "Thy servant, our King."

Under Frederick's rule the restraints which had so long hampered the spirit of Prussia were relaxed; free thought was encouraged; the censorship of the Press and literature was abolished; and men could think, speak, and act according to conscience, none making them afraid. His fighting done, he made his court a centre of culture. There he consorted with wise and witty men of his own and other lands; and intellectual discourse and music took the place of the rough humour of the Tobacco Councils. His love of music, in which art he excelled as a flautist, popularised public concerts amongst those who could afford to attend them. The theatre also flourished in his day, and from 1771 we hear for the first time of repertory companies in Berlin.

It is customary to speak of Germany's "Frederician age," and rightly, for though Frederick's military suc-

cesses and statecraft belong primarily to Prussian history the prestige which they created was shared by all Germany. It broadened the nation's outlook, lifted its spirit out of pettiness into a more liberal atmosphere, and Germans for a time became conscious of a larger destiny. The entire eighteenth century may be said to have been one of steady advance, but the climax came in the later decades. Foreign influences continued even then to dominate the life of the courts and the aristocracy, but there were growing up in the thoughtful part of the nation a self-consciousness and pride which evoked resentment at the continual appeal to everything that was French or Italian, and Germans ceased to be contented that their country should for ever be a hewer of wood and drawer of water for other nations, and her fields serve as battle-grounds for foreign armies.

The striking intellectual activity of that period really carried forward, under more auspicious conditions and at a higher momentum, a movement which began early in the century, than which perhaps no other in German history was so rich in permanent cultural gains. The impetus came through the Rationalistic movement, which shook German scholarship out of the stagnation to which the vigilant tutelage of the Church had so long doomed it. Now daring thinkers like Leibnitz, Christian Wolff, and others sounded the herald call of a neo-Renaissance, known as the Illumination, which, beginning in academic circles, gradually spread to every section of the national life. Within half a century the three important universities of Halle, Göttingen, and Erlangen were established, that of Halle being the first German university to give formal recognition to the principle of freedom of opinion and teaching. Now also the professors abandoned the use of Latin, and both lectured and wrote in their native language.

A new reading public was created, and for the first time contemporary literature, both German and foreign, was placed within the reach of wide circles of the population. All that was most noteworthy in current English

letters—in essays, romance, and poetry—was given to the German public in translations or vicariously in imitations. Our famous eighteenth-century essayists, Addison, Steele, Swift, and others, as later our first great story-tellers, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Goldsmith, with many lyrical poets of the period, some of whom it is no longer allowable to read or even to name, received recognition in German literary circles almost as promptly as at home. From the second half of that century dated the enthusiasm of German scholars for Shakespeare, whose plays were first translated by Wieland between the years 1762-66. Magazines and reviews of all kinds likewise poured from the press, and lending libraries responded to a growing demand for literature of the easy and comfortable sort. Chroniclers of the time record that serving men and maids began to read books, a statement perhaps less surprising than the implication that they were allowed or found time to do it.

The revival of letters continued to gain strength from the middle of the century forward, culminating in the classical or Augustan age of German literature. Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, and Herder were the precursors of a brilliant constellation of poetic genius whose bright, particular stars were Goethe and Schiller. Pure literature was not alone in contributing to the cultural greatness of that century. Theology, law, physical science, anatomy, and chemistry all had distinguished representatives. In the realm of music, too, were masters like Bach, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven; nor may the genius of Händel be denied to the country of his birth and parentage, though nearly all his works were either composed or produced in England during the first half of the century.

A new stimulus was given to municipal life at that time, when so much had to be done in effacing the mischief wrought by the wars. The art of town planning and beautification was developed further. Fine public buildings, squares, and planted spaces became commoner, the streets were built wider and more symmetrically, and

around the larger towns parks were often laid. Berlin, in a feeble and ineffectual way, aped Paris, and as a result of so doing has ever since been a nondescript city without individuality or character. In the first years of the succeeding century came the Municipal Ordinances which gave to Prussian towns the generous system of self-government under which they have since lived and thriven, and the example of Prussia was followed in the other States, though a complementary system of political self-government had to wait for a more convenient season. One of the most important social ameliorations of the latter part of the century was the abolition of serfdom in several of the States of North Germany. The abuse survived for a time longer in Prussia, until the Stein and Hardenberg agrarian legislation ended it, and otherwise improved the condition of the rural population.

CHAPTER VII

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

(1792—1815)

WHEN Frederick passed away a strong reaction against soldier rule set in not only in Prussia but throughout Germany. National defence was neglected, armies declined both in numbers and efficiency, military discipline became weakened, and amongst the civilian population the soldier and his calling again lost in repute. Perhaps this sudden outburst of pacifism came prematurely. It certainly went too far; for when the legions of Revolutionary France began their march eastward no effective resistance was offered, and Germany succumbed to the onslaught.

But other causes helped to bring about the catastrophe. Many of the ideas proclaimed in the name of the Revolution appealed strongly to Germans of liberal views, who had long been embittered by the impotence and humiliation of their own political status. It was less a spirit of patriotism than one of loyalty to the Sovereigns that was

wanting at that time, and for that lack there was often good cause. Little reason had most of the peoples for gratitude to their rulers. In their struggles with the Emperors these rulers had been actuated by no regard for the welfare of their subjects. It was not for popular liberties, but for their personal aggrandisement and the ambition to rule as autocrats in their several realms, that they had chaffered and conspired, quarrelled and fought with successive occupants of the imperial throne. They had not taken away the Emperor's authority in order to give it to others, least of all to the populace. They had made him small in order that they themselves might be greater, and that purpose had been achieved, with the result that one central despotism had been replaced by hundreds of petty local despotisms.

These new despotisms were even worse than the old, for while the authority exercised by the Emperor was rather extensive than intensive, the authority of the princes was brought home to the lives and goods of their subjects in the most direct, personal, and often oppressive manner, and the great mass of people were far worse off for the change. Neither townsmen nor countrymen knew the meaning of political franchises; the feudal system continued as before; the peasantry had experienced no lightening of the burden of archaic customs and grinding obligations under which they had toiled and moiled for centuries; abject serfage still flourished like a green bay-tree in most parts of the country.

So it was that when the news of the Revolution flashed across the Rhine, its effect was that of a signal of hope and succour to men and women in distress. The National Assembly's grandiloquent "declaration of the rights of man" (August, 1789), affirming the principles of liberty and equality, popular sovereignty, and the abolition of feudalism and privileges of all kinds, was hailed with rejoicing in all parts of Germany.

The exuberant burghers of the Rhineland, so near to the French in culture and temperament, gave the first response, honestly believing that as good times had come

to France so through France they were about to come to their own country. Mayence showed its joy by setting up a republic, and petitioning for incorporation in France. In many towns aristocratic ladies ostentatiously wore the tricolour as they ambled through the streets.

Revolution is infectious where healthy political and social conditions and environment are absent, and the ferment rapidly spread to north and south and east. Had the princes been wise they would have met disaffection with timely concessions, for these might have rallied their peoples in a united effort to repel imminent menace. They made no such generous gestures, but allowed the situation to shape itself as it would. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that, when their rulers showed so little concern in the cause of national security, and so little understanding of the fact that a new spirit was abroad, a population which had so long chafed under repressive political conditions passively held back likewise, content to receive deliverance at the hands of the stranger.

Later, when the armies of France began their march eastward, the opportunity for organising a great collective military effort had passed, and it was left to the few to try to do the work of the many. At that time of weak counsels and divided fidelities it was the better governed States which best held together and strove, if vainly, to stem the tide of invasion. Elsewhere the old tribal jealousies paralysed will and effort. How ripe Germany was for another and a sterner reminder of the folly of disunity—and it must be added, how well she deserved it—was shown when the rulers of Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden enrolled themselves and their armies under Napoleon's banner, fought his battles, and received new titles at his hand.

It was the misfortune of Prussia in particular, admirably administered though she was, that the welfare and life of the nation had become too much the concern of the ruler and his Government, and that the head of the State at that time, Frederick William III., was a weakling and a laggard, who found his greatest pleasure

in spiritualistic *séances*. But, further, the men who had served Frederick in military and civil life were either old or had passed away, and a less robust race had succeeded them. There were notable exceptions, of course, for no nation collapses altogether, however abject its decline; even now men like Blücher, Scharnhorst, and Gneisenau in military life, and Stein and Hardenberg in statecraft—all but one born after 1750—who were yet to assist at the rebirth of Prussia and Germany, were in their prime.

Not only in Prussia, however, but in Germany at large the heart of the nation was unquestionably sound. What it needed was a strong leadership, which it could respect and trust, lacking which no people in history has proved itself so impotent as the Germans, and that leadership was lacking. In the middle of the misfortunes which soon overtook his unhappy land, the poet Chamisso wrote: "Yes, we were a staunch and faithful, a good and strong martial people. Oh, if we had only had men at our head!"

In a war lasting for fourteen years, five Coalitions of one kind or another were formed before France was crushed, and in the interval Germany suffered unexampled misery. In Napoleon Bonaparte, who was fired more by military ambition than republican enthusiasm, France found an intrepid organiser of victories, and the successive treaties of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797), Luneville (February 9, 1801), and Austerlitz (December 2, 1805), registered the complete collapse of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. France had appropriated the left bank of the Rhine at the expense of the Empire; the spiritual principalities and most of the Free Cities had been abolished; and Austria had been ejected from Italy and compelled to cede territory to Bavaria and Baden. As yet Prussia had been spared any great loss of territory.

For some time the Empire had been practically defunct, so that when a little later (August, 1806) Napoleon, now Emperor of the French, declared that it had ceased to exist, he was merely issuing a formal certificate of death. The Emperor Francis II., not unwilling to lay down the

weary weight of the imperial crown, took the title of Hereditary Emperor of Austria as Francis I. of the new line. To mark the disruption of the Empire, Napoleon created the Confederation of the Rhine, consisting of sixteen West and South German princes, all in alliance with him, and pledged to supply him with soldiers for his wars.

Germany's fate now depended mainly on Prussia, whose rôle in the tragedy had hitherto been far from a glorious one. Egoism and want of courage, straightforwardness, and foresight had characterised both rulers and statesmen. As late as December, 1805, Frederick William III. (who had succeeded his father in 1797), hoping to save himself and his country, whatever befell the rest of Germany, had entered into an alliance with France, which made him more than ever Napoleon's tool and the instrument of his own ruin. By this treaty he bartered several towns for Hanover, indifferent to the fact that its ruler was the King of England, a country which had expended men and money without stint in the endeavour to overcome the scourge of Europe. Forced into open hostility, Prussia suffered overwhelming defeat at Jena (October 14, 1806), and a fortnight later her King had the crowning mortification of seeing Napoleon enter Berlin, there to receive protestations of allegiance from some of his own Ministers of State. Prussia's ruin was consummated by the dictated Peace of Tilsit (July 9, 1807), by which she was compelled to cede territory west of the Elbe and the whole of her share of Poland, so that, counting her losses on the Rhine, she was now reduced to one-half of her former area. The King's allies, the rulers of Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel, were deposed, and their lands, together with part of Hanover and territory taken from Prussia, were constituted the kingdom of Westphalia, so providing Napoleon's brother Jerome with a throne for a short time.

Merciless in the hour of triumph, Napoleon had humbled Prussia to the dust, yet just as low in dishonour had fallen the princely German underlings, who still

fawned upon the conqueror. Napoleon took these men at their own valuation, treated them as the whipper-snappers they were, required them to provide fodder for his wars, and levied upon them at will military contributions, which had to be wrung from their depressed and betrayed subjects.

Now Austria had to face Napoleon further single-handed, but the peace of Schönbrunn (October 14, 1809) reduced her to Prussia's extremity, and for the second time in the campaign French troops occupied Vienna. So helpless were the two down-beaten allies in 1812 that when Napoleon undertook his disastrous expedition into Russia they dared not disobey his order to add contingents to the other German troops who followed his generals. It is estimated that one-third of the French army which entered Russia, and for the most part failed to return, consisted of Germans.

By this time the humiliations, insults, and exactions inflicted upon them by Napoleon had eaten into the souls of the better part of the German people, and had created a resentment and hatred too strong to be any longer curbed. A great cry for emancipation from the tyrant rang through the north country, and Prussia, come to her better mind, put herself at the head of the movement and saw it through. By the tremendous effort which it now made the Prussian nation redeemed its reputation, re-established its military superiority, and ratified its claim to be the future leader of the German race. Inspired by this example, most of the other tribes threw themselves into the struggle, yet it was only when convinced that Napoleon's star was waning, and the path of duty was that of safety and possibly that of booty, that Bavaria turned from her French ally and joined the national fold. The Saxons, held back by the reigning family, still remained outside.

The formation in June, 1813, of the fifth, last, and strongest Coalition against France, consisting of Prussia, Austria, Russia, England, and Sweden, proved the climax of the long and exhausting struggle, and Napoleon's

Thermopylæ was fought on October 16-19, 1813, in the historic "battle of the peoples." It was a signal reversal of fortune, but not a strange one, for while at Jena the Emperor had been opposed by an army largely composed of hirelings, he now was faced by a patriotic nation in arms. It was an intensely dramatic moment in that bloody fray when a large body of the Saxon infantry and artillery, responding to the call of the blood, deliberately went over to the German side, so helping to strike the decisive blow for honour and freedom.

The occupation of Paris by the allies, the restoration of the Bourbons, Napoleon's banishment first to Elba, and then, after his escape and abortive rising, to St. Helena, and the Congress of Vienna led up to the settlement of Europe by the second Peace of Paris (November 20, 1815). Only the stipulations of that peace that directly relate to the future of Germany need be mentioned here. France was required to withdraw within the frontiers of 1792. In Germany the old States were maintained or restored, but not in all cases the old frontiers. Prussia received back most of the territory left of the Elbe of which Napoleon had robbed her, and ceded territory to Hanover and Bavaria in exchange for Swedish Pomerania, a strip of Saxony, and some Rhenish lands. Bavaria further received the Rhenish Palatinate, but ceded the Tyrol and Salzburg to Austria.

In the stirring story of that time, when a German nation was being moulded in the crucible of suffering, many names stand out, of soldiers, statesmen, and scholars, which will be remembered and honoured as long as history is written and read. Such were, in the sphere of military operations, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, York, Blücher, Clausewitz, and Bülow; in that of public policy Stein, Hardenberg, and William von Humboldt; in scholarship and letters, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Niebuhr, and Kant, the stern preacher of duty ("Duty, thou sublime word!"), with battle singers like Arndt, Körner, and Rückert. Nearly all these men, and other patriots worthy of them, were members of burgher, or, as we should say,

middle-class families. There were, of course, many worthy scions of princely and noble houses who did gallant work in a hundred fights and fields, but in the main the military, political, and spiritual saviours of Germany at that time came from the homes of the people.

CHAPTER VIII

BIRTH OF THE NEW EMPIRE

(1815—1871)

THE crucial question for Germany remained: it was her future political status. There were voices which called for a unitary monarchical State. Such a creation, however, must have been an abortion; the traditions formed during centuries of tribal independence, rivalry, and faction were too strong and firmly rooted to be destroyed in any such way. Stein, the Prussian statesman, proposed the simple restoration of the Empire, hoary anachronism though it had become, still under the headship of the house of Habsburg. That view failed to commend itself either to the King or his other advisers; outside Prussia no one supported it; while the Emperor Francis himself had no wish to wear again a crown which conferred neither real power nor real dignity.

The solution of the problem accepted was the organisation of the States of the old Empire in a perpetual international union to be known as the *Deutscher Bund* or Germanic Federation, and the Federal Act of June 8, 1815, was passed accordingly. Austria and Prussia joined for only those of their territories which formed part of the old Empire, the King of England for Hanover, the King of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxemburg and for Limburg, and the King of Denmark for the duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. Forty-one States were federated, though the later extinction or absorption of certain of the smaller principalities reduced the number to thirty-three. The presidency of the Bund was given to

Austria, and its very limited powers were vested in a Diet and a standing Council meeting at Frankfort. Of representative institutions the federal constitution contained no trace.

One other achievement of the same year was the formation by the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria of a politico-religious pact known as the Holy Alliance. The Alliance was just as holy as the dissolved Empire; pretending that its object was to instil in the minds of the people the fear of God, what it really wanted and tried to do was to encourage fear of princes. Both England and America were invited to join the Alliance, but they declined, suspecting that an organisation formed by absolutist Sovereigns would be bound to prove reactionary, as it speedily did.

The form and constitution of the Germanic Federation was a source of deep disappointment to the German people. During the struggle with Napoleon the rulers of some of the States, Prussia amongst the number, had stimulated the patriotism and courage of their subjects by the promise of political rights similar to those already enjoyed in western countries. Between 1816 and 1819 constitutions were introduced in several of the "middle" and small States—*e.g.*, Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxe-Weimar—but the rulers of Prussia and Austria held back instead of giving the lead, and most of the other princes were only too ready to follow their example.

In so acting they violated one of the provisions of their own constitution, for the Federal Act definitely pledged each of the signatories to introduce an assembly or representation of the estates, though carefully avoiding any details as to how and when. In the case of Prussia the action of Frederick William III. and of his successor, Frederick William IV., as long as he dared, in scouting popular aspirations was impolitic as well as faithless, since it increased distrust of their country and branded it as the home of reaction.

For over thirty years most of the princes of the Bund, acting both through the Diet and individually, vigorously

repressed popular movements and opinions of any kind which were hostile to the existing political systems, even to the extent of making the advocacy of national unity a crime. Austria, under the masterful guidance of her Chancellor, Prince Metternich, was the leader in this vicious form of spiritual persecution, but Prussia made a good second. The time came when it became a crime to publish in that country Fichte's noble *Addresses to the German Nation*.

The July revolution of 1830 in Paris led to isolated risings in North and Central Germany, and several of the rulers bowed to the spirit of the time, but in the main the policy of sitting upon the safety-valve continued to pass for statesmanship. A new crusade against democratic movements and free thought generally was organised; the Press laws and the censorship were stiffened, and the universities were purged of liberal influences, many of the professors being cashiered and hundreds of ebullient students sent down in disgrace or exiled. One of the pettiest measures of repression was that which made it illegal for artisans to spend their customary *Wanderjahr*, or year of travel, in democratic countries, as being likely to endanger their political morals. Henceforth Wilhelm Meister might not visit France, Belgium, or Switzerland, though autocratic Russia was still open to him.

It is well to recall facts like these, for they show again where the course of political development had been tending during the centuries which witnessed the continual struggle for power between the Emperor and the tribal princes. These had sought independence not for their peoples, but for themselves; the object of the liberty after which they had hankered was the limitation and denial of liberty to others. The policy pursued by the German Sovereigns from 1815 forward prolonged the life of autocracy, and so deferred for a whole century Germany's entrance into the ranks of democratic States, with ultimate consequences of the direst kind both for their peoples and themselves.

The French Revolution of February, 1848, evoked

immediate response both in Germany and Austria. There were risings in all the larger and some of the smaller States, and more than one ruler was driven from his capital. The Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards William I.) fled to England, and the King only quelled commotion by giving the insurgents a public blessing and promising to comply with their demands. In Vienna likewise insurrection triumphed, and Metternich, who, like the sportsman he was, defied it as long as he could, ended by seeking safety and hospitality where Louis Philippe of France and the Prussian royal refugee had preceded him.

Prussia received a constitution at that time, and though it left the prerogatives of the Crown almost as they were, with but slight improvements it had to serve for seventy years. A constitution was given to Austria likewise, but three years later the young Emperor, Francis Joseph, annulled it, and only in 1861 did that country receive representative government.

The greatest gain to Germany at that time was the new life given to the national movement. A Constituent National Assembly, representing all the German States except Austria, and elected in all sorts of ways, met at Frankfort in May, 1848, and during many months of wearisome deliberations hammered out a constitution. It provided for the transformation of the Bund into an Empire, while the central Government was to consist of the "Emperor of Germany," an Executive Council, and a Diet composed of a House of States, half chosen by the princes and half by the State Diets, and a popular chamber elected by manhood suffrage. In the following April the hereditary headship of the Empire-to-be was offered to the King of Prussia, but influenced by the hostile attitude of Austria, and perhaps more by the thought that the constitution-makers were offering him a title and an authority which were not theirs to give, he declined acceptance. By this time a reaction had set in; the princes had recovered self-possession and confidence; autocracy, believed to be dead, showed that it was very much alive; the Imperial Diet resumed its sittings and

authority; and the National Assembly, reduced to an impotent little minority, adjourned to Stuttgart, where it was dispersed by the police. The national movement having been disposed of, the princes, by way of proving that not revolution but despotism had triumphed, entered upon a new course of repression surpassing in folly as well as ferocity all their past excesses of that kind.

The German Bund lasted only a decade and a half longer, and it was Prussia who destroyed it. There a statesman of Titanic strength, in whom Talleyrand and Metternich, had they still lived, would have found their match, had come to the front in the person of Otto von Bismarck. First serving Prussia as envoy to the Imperial Diet and then as ambassador in Paris and London successively, King William I. made him Minister President in 1862, when he was at loggerheads with the Lower House of his Diet over a point of constitutional right.

While in Frankfort Bismarck had challenged Austria's claim to dominate the Bund and exercise a sort of grand-mogulship over Germany. He had also formed the firm conviction that there was not room sufficient for both States in the federal realm, and the determination that, somehow or other, Austria should be the one to go. Deliberately seeking a quarrel with Prussia's rival over the possession of the Elbe Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which the allies had occupied after war with Denmark (1864), he adroitly managed to bring about an open rupture, and the Bohemian War of June, 1866, ended in Austria's complete defeat. In that short but sharp struggle the German tribes had, as usual, been divided, and again the severance was in the main one between the north and the south, all the larger States fighting on Austria's side. Looking to the future, Bismarck—already a despotic power behind the throne—wisely followed a policy of moderation in the treatment of Prussia's enemies. By the Peace of Prague (August 23, 1866) Austria was required to agree to the dissolution of the Germanic Federation and to her exclusion from a reorganised Germany, to renounce to Prussia her rights in

Schleswig and Holstein, to acknowledge such extensions of territory as Prussia might make in North Germany, and to pay a small indemnity, but her territory was left inviolate. Most of Austria's allies were similarly treated with leniency, but Hesse-Darmstadt lost to Prussia a large part of a province (including Mayence), and Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, and the ancient Free City of Frankfort were annexed bodily.

As part of the settlement the States north of the Main pledged themselves to join Prussia in a new federation, while the southern States were required to enter into a military alliance with her, and for the rest were left to form a federation of their own or not, as they pleased. Accordingly sixteen North German States were at once incorporated in an international union to be known as the North German Confederation, six others joining later. Its constitution provided that the head of the Confederation should be not an Emperor, as the Frankfort Parliament had proposed, but a President, the office being vested in the Kings of Prussia, and that the legislature should consist of the Federal Council, composed of plenipotentiaries of the Sovereigns, and a representative assembly elected by manhood suffrage. The only Minister of State recognised by the constitution was the Federal Chancellor, who was to be nominated by the President and to be the head and voice of the Federal Council.

Half of Germany had been led or driven into unity, and for the present Bismarck was not particular about the other half, knowing that in the end events and interest would prove too strong for the particularism of the south. It was not only a tenacious love of independence, however, that kept States like Bavaria and Würtemberg apart, but a traditional and warm attachment to Austria and the Habsburg house, together with deep-seated suspicion of Prussia. Even yet there lingered in the south a strong hope that Austria was not altogether lost to Germany, and this hope the "Greater Germany" (*Grossdeutschland*) movement and party kept alive for many years. Louis Napoleon of France, a perpetual

meddler in other nations' business, did his best to encourage both the isolation of the Southern States and the idea of some sort of union between them and the extruded monarchy.

Nevertheless, further promising advance was made on the way to full unity by the conclusion of a Customs Union comprising all the German States, and an ingenious arrangement by which the Federal Council and Diet of the Northern Bund were enlarged, by the addition of representatives of the States of the south, for the purpose of legislating on customs questions only. Discreetly directed, and being kept strictly to its own business, the Customs Parliament functioned both harmoniously and efficiently. Perhaps no factor in the life of the time helped more powerfully to bring to effect the growing desire of the nation for complete political unity.

That consummation came with dramatic suddenness three years later as the inevitable consequence of the Franco-Prussian War. Bismarck used to speak of the three wars for which he admitted responsibility, yet for which he averred that he had squared accounts both with his conscience and his God—the wars with Denmark, Austria, and France—as wars that were “in the nature of events,” and that “lay in the logic of history.” It may be allowed, *ex hypothesi*, that these wars were essential in the sense that without them it might have been impossible to establish belief both at home and abroad in Prussia's power, to remove the obstacles which still beset and hampered Germany's development, and to create a fair-way for a truly national life. Such an admission may call, indeed, for moral reservations of various kinds, if morality counts in political life and national affairs; though, if the crimes committed in the name of nationality are to be arraigned before the bar of judgment, who shall stand? In no war was the right wholly on one side or the wrong wholly on the other. There is sound justice in the saying of Montesquieu, “The real author of a war is not he who declares it, but he who makes it necessary.”

That plea was advanced by the French when disclaiming responsibility for the war of 1870; but it cuts both ways. Granting that Bismarck enticed Louis Napoleon into the struggle which led to his undoing, yet the Emperor had invited trouble by a long-continued policy of craftiness, double-dealing, and deceit in his dealings with Prussia and Germany. For years he had conspired against the territory of his neighbours—Prussia, Hesse, Bavaria, and latterly Belgium and Luxemburg; and ever since the Bohemian War he had done his best to keep Prussia and Austria apart, and to encourage the German States of the south in abstention from union with the north, while at the same time professing to be Prussia's good and faithful friend. The Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain (at once withdrawn on French expostulations) and Bismarck's perverted and irritating Ems telegram may have been the occasion of the war; but the real causes were, on Germany's side, that calculating statesman's conviction that the struggle had to be fought out, and, on the side of France, an increasing and well-founded jealousy of Prussia, the wish of the French nation to bring that upstart Power to its knees, and the Emperor's weak and foolish attempts to revive the aggressive policy of Louis XIV. and the first Napoleon.

Both sides took to arms protesting their ample justifications and their good consciences, and the war was as popular in one country as in the other. For the third time within six years the stern message "Mobilise!" ran through Prussia, and for the second time within four all Germany entered the fray. Now, however, there was no longer division amongst the tribes. In face of a common danger, the entire nation rallied as one man to the call to avenge centuries of humiliation, suffering, aggression, and spoliation.

Foreign public opinion was largely on Germany's side, though there were notable exceptions; seldom has a nation gone to war with so little disinterested moral support behind it as the French nation in 1870. France went the way of Austria in 1866, and for the same reason.

For while the German military machine was in perfect order, and capable of meeting the severest demands, Louis Napoleon and his military advisers had trusted to a fictitious strength; imposing enough in statistics, the French army failed to materialise when the testing time came. German armies were thrown at once into France, and from first to last the fighting was on French soil, the end coming in February, 1871, after the struggle had lasted for seven months. By the Peace Treaty of Frankfort (May 10, 1871) France was required to retrocede the old German lands of Alsace and Lorraine, and to pay an indemnity of two hundred million pounds. The German colonial party of that day implored Bismarck to take some of the French colonies while he had the chance, but he resolutely refused.

Before this the federation of all the German States had taken place and the German Empire, new style, had been proclaimed at Versailles (January 18, 1871) in the presence of King William of Prussia (the same who, as Crown Prince, was a refugee in England in 1848) and the Heir Apparent, later Frederick III., the other reigning princes of Germany, leading Ministers of State, and a posse of chosen officers of the victorious armies. It was significant that no representatives of the Federal Diet, or of the State Diets, or of the nation were present; and that the imperial title was conferred upon the new holder directly by his peers, the ceremony, in effect, reviving the later tradition of the Holy Roman Empire.

For practical purposes the new Empire was the North German Confederation enlarged, and its constitution embodied all the main provisions of the one already in force, with modifications and additions called for by the altered circumstances. The imperial office was made hereditary in the Prussian Royal House, and the executive and legislative organs were as before—viz., the Federal Council and a Diet elected by manhood suffrage. The Federal Chancellor now became the Imperial Chancellor, still the only Minister recognised by the constitution, though a later law authorised the creation of several De-

partments, each under a Secretary of State. The whole system perpetuated the existing autocracy, for the Federal Council represented only the reigning Sovereigns and their Governments, and the Diet had no power to compel or require either it or the Chancellor to do what they had no mind to do. Moreover, while the Chancellor and the later Secretaries of State might be interpellated, criticised, and censured *ad libitum*, no party or combination of parties, however preponderant, could secure the removal of any one of them, their dismissal, like their appointment, being the exclusive business of the Emperor.

CHAPTER IX

THE ERA OF BISMARCK

(1871—1888)

FOR the next nineteen years Bismarck, now created Prince, held the office of Imperial Chancellor, and until the last two of those years it was he and not the Emperor who determined both foreign and home policy, and practically governed Germany. It was a time of great national development. Industry and commerce made rapid strides, wealth increased by bounds, population multiplied greatly, old towns becoming modernised and new towns springing up as by magic, science, art and letters flourished, and the entire life and energies of the nation received a new impulse.

Many constructive measures of far-reaching influence were enacted. In the guise of fiscal reform there was a tentative return to protection in 1879, an experiment upon which succeeding Chancellors improved until the German home market was surrounded by a high tariff fence. An achievement of less qualified merit was the nationalisation of the Prussian railway systems. Bismarck wished to bring all the main railways of the Empire into one system, but here he proved more than forty years before his time, though he codified railway legislation.

The laws of what is known as the State Socialistic era proved a blessing to the working classes, but because repression and reform came simultaneously they were not received with the gratitude they deserved. Still less did they check the further spread of Socialism. Even when, upon Bismarck's retirement in 1890, the Socialist Laws were repealed, the movement against which they were aimed continued its victorious course until two years before the outbreak of the Great War it reached the high-water mark of its strength, as measured by success in the elections to the Imperial Diet: in 1912 four and a quarter million voters, or over a third of the entire electorate, voted the red ticket, and their 110 representatives formed nearly the same proportion of the whole.

The same hard and unsympathetic policy was followed with the same result in the treatment of the French residue in Alsace-Lorraine, the Danes of Schleswig, and the Poles in the eastern districts of Prussia, until with Bismarck's resignation a suaver spirit was introduced into the domestic policy of Prussia and the Empire. But already the harm had been done. Down to 1914 not one of these alien minorities had become wholly reconciled to its lot.

In foreign affairs Bismarck's reputation, however we may judge some of his successes or his means of attaining them, was brilliant. Throughout almost the entire period of his Chancellorship, Berlin was the political centre of the Continent, and he the wire-puller-in-chief of foreign policy. In everything he did his country's interests were his principal if not only concern, yet not in the sense of aggression; for all he wanted was such a condition of stability as would allow Germany to live and prosper in security. The two great grounds of fear were France and Russia, for while the mortification of defeat never abated in French breasts, the traditionally amicable relations between the rulers of Germany and Russia seldom extended for long to their Governments and peoples. • •

In his concern that Germany should not be liable to

menace from any direction he fortified her with treaties of alliance or less formal pacts of benevolent neutrality. He began in 1872 with the *entente* (it was not an alliance) of the three Emperors (Germany, Russia, and Austria). Seven years later, the friendship of Russia having cooled down, owing to the Czar's unreasonable complaint that Germany had not sufficiently supported his claims in the Congress of Berlin, which followed the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, he brought about the dual alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary, Italy joining in 1882. Then, fearing that he had made a mistake in leaving Russia out of that combination, and watching with anxiety the advances between France and the eastern empire, he negotiated in 1884 a secret "reinsurance" treaty, under which Germany and Russia pledged themselves to benevolent neutrality in the event of either of them being attacked. It was certainly a masterly achievement that, in spite of the sinuous character of much of his diplomacy, he maintained good relations with Russia to the end of his Chancellorship.

On the Eastern Question of his day he followed, as he said, neither a Russian, nor a West European, nor an Austrian, but a purely German policy, whose sole object was to maintain the peace and in any event to keep Germany out of complications which might embroil her in more fighting. He once said that he would not sacrifice the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier in the Balkan squabbles, and he was even prepared to see Russia established on the Bosphorus if she wished it.

The Berlin Congress marked the zenith of his influence and fame. He then stood out as the foremost statesman of the day. His hand was in every move on the political chessboard of Europe; nothing was done without his knowledge, and little without his assent. The lustre of his name added also to his Germany's repute, which he carried higher than it had stood for centuries. Something more than the nimbleness and skill of the tight-rope dancer was needed in the delicate diplomatic negotiations involved by Bismarck's foreign policy; but

he seldom failed to achieve his ends, at least for a time. He used to say also that in foreign relations Germany had "perfectly clean linen." It may have been true, but as the linen was on principle kept carefully out of sight no one else could tell for certain at any time, and some people were unkindly sceptical at all times. With some justification he was believed to have engineered the French war scare of 1875, as he engineered many other dark episodes, though it is fair to say that he had neither intention nor wish that war should take place. How little certain he was of assured peace, however, may be concluded from the fact that throughout his Chancellorship Germany and France emulated each other in passing Army Laws, making unceasing additions to the strength and efficiency of national defence.

With one short interruption Anglo-German relations were consistently friendly throughout the Bismarckian period. The exception fell to the early 'eighties, when the old colonial ambitions began to reassert themselves in Germany, and, responding to increasing pressure, Bismarck annexed certain hitherto unappropriated territories bordering on British colonies in South-west, West, and East Africa. As the British Foreign and Colonial Offices proved unaccommodating, Bismarck, in resentment, threatened to retaliate by creating difficulties for England in Egypt. Happily the misunderstanding was adjusted before great harm was done, and for a long time the German Empire had no more cordial well-wisher than this country.

CHAPTER X

FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC

(1888—1914)

ON the death in March, 1888, in honoured old age, of the first German Emperor, his son Frederick succeeded to the throne. But a mortal disease had already laid hold upon him, and his reign of three months provoked no event

calling for mention in this story. He was followed by William II., who reigned for just over thirty years. The first Emperor had systematically deferred to his Chancellor, partly from the motive of attachment, partly because he took seriously the threat of resignation which followed every difference of opinion on important issues.

His grandson came to the throne as the supposed disciple of the autocratic Minister, and all the world concluded that, having been carefully taught the way in which he should go, he would dutifully continue in it. It was not long before the new Emperor showed that he had a will of his own, quite as hard and arbitrary as that of the Chancellor. A "new course" now began. Acute difference arose between the two in relation to several questions of policy. One was the holding of an international labour conference, upon which the Emperor's mind was set, and which duly took place in Berlin in March, 1890. Another was the continuance of the Socialist Law, to which he was opposed. A third was the round of visits which he wished to pay to European Courts, and which the Chancellor professed to regard as a cheap bid for personal popularity, though his real ground of opposition was his unwillingness that another than himself should expound German foreign policy. In each case the Emperor insisted on having his way. Now for the first time in his Ministerial life of nearly thirty years Bismarck saw his wisdom questioned, his authority defied, his will thwarted. It was impossible that there could be two masters in one house, and it only remained to be decided which should prevail.

The inevitable clash came ostensibly over a point of Ministerial privilege—the right of the Chancellor and Prussian Minister President to be present at audiences given by the Emperor-King to heads of Departments of State. This right, upon which Bismarck's despotic power had been largely built, the new Emperor challenged. Of neither of the disputants could it be maintained that he was merely stickling for a petty *minutia* of constitutional form. Bismarck was fighting for his old position and its

prerogatives, as established partly by Cabinet Orders but more by long prescription; the Emperor was fighting for personal freedom, the right to form his own judgments and act upon them. In such a quarrel neither side would or could give way, and the Chancellor resigned (March 18, 1890) in circumstances which suggested rather a dismissal than a voluntary retirement. To many it came as an unpleasant revelation that the Emperor had been in negotiation with his successor, General von Caprivi, before the Chancellorship was vacant.

Caprivi was one of four Chancellors who covered the period from this point to 1917, the others being Prince Chlodwig von Hohenlohe, Prince von Bülow, and Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg. In effect, however, public policy was determined henceforth far less by the Chancellor or the Legislature than by the Emperor.

In domestic affairs there was unquestionably steady progress, and in no period of national history did greater social changes take place than during the last reign. In Caprivi's time the protective tariff was eased by the addition of reduced "conventional" duties, applicable as the result of special bargaining, though during the Chancellorship of Prince Bülow this safeguard against high protection was again abandoned. The crown was put to the edifice of national unity by the promulgation in 1896 of the Civil Code of the Empire, the drawing of which had occupied a commission of legal experts for many years. The labour laws were further amended, and factory inspection was made more efficient, while the social insurance legislation was broadened and otherwise improved. Milder measures were applied intermittently in the treatment of the alien races in the east and west, though repression never hid its hand altogether, and in 1909 a law was passed for the out-and-out expropriation of Polish landowners whose estates were deemed to be suitable for settlement by Germans. At a later time the colonial movement, which maladministration and official abuses had greatly discredited, received a new impetus owing to the application of drastic reformatory measures.

During the entire reign industry and commerce, assisted by the tariffs, and by State assistance in other indirect forms, as well as by a powerful system of syndicates, advanced with gigantic strides. The country was now being rapidly industrialised, and the Rhineland and Westphalia in particular became centres of an intense industrialism hardly equalled anywhere else on the Continent. The growth of foreign trade and of the shipbuilding industry had also led to the creation of a fine mercantile marine. Greatly though the population had grown—the increase between 1871 and 1910 was from 41 to 65 millions—while in the early 'eighties there had been a large annual volume of emigration, there were now no longer workers sufficient to man the factories and workshops, still less to maintain agriculture in an efficient condition, so that every summer seasonal labourers to the number of hundreds of thousands streamed over the eastern and western frontiers of Prussia from Russia and Austria, Belgium and Holland. Wealth increased to a fabulous extent, though its distribution was very unequal, and perhaps never before were the extremes of social conditions so widely separated.

Yet it cannot be said that this sudden accession of material prosperity had been altogether good for the nation. Almost in every rank of society the standard of life had risen in some measure, yet greater social peace had not come, and the progress of Socialism continued without check. It was Germany's misfortune that great wealth came to her so suddenly and at once so copiously. Had it come in the form of gentle, fertilising showers, instead of a flood, the benefits would have been greater and more equally dispersed. But the flood carried people off their feet, sweeping away balance, restraint, and self-control. Much of the old simplicity, frugality, and healthy hardness of life disappeared, giving way to luxury, extravagance, indulgence, and crude ostentation, which were poor and unpromising substitutes. National characteristics are supposed to change slowly, yet the thirty or forty years which followed the French War produced in

Germany a generation entirely different in mentality, ideals, and aspirations from the nation of thinkers and dreamers which the Germans had been in the past.

Efficiency and success in material and external things—in commerce, science, military organisation, and all that belongs to the mechanism of civilisation—also blinded the nation to the evils deeply rooted in the political system under which it lived, though these were working mischief in the body politic. Still, well into the twentieth century, the tradition of autocratic government was perpetuated in a country otherwise the most progressive of the Continent. Perhaps the Germans had the constitutions they then deserved; yet the public spirit which could tolerate the existing anomalous position was not a healthy one, nor was it likely to carry the nation through a great crisis in its life, should that have to be faced.

In his *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe* Lecky suggests that "it is probable that the capacity for pursuing abstract truth for its own sake which has given German thinkers so great an ascendancy in Europe is in no slight degree to be attributed to the political languor of their nation." It may be so, but that same political languor produced other and less innocent results. By assenting to their virtual effacement in political life the Germans deliberately encouraged autocracy and so accepted responsibility for its attendant evils, of which the revival of the eighteenth-century idea of State omnipotence, military rule in political and military discipline in civil life, and a vicious system of official sycophancy were the most visible and mischievous. Since the war the unhealthy influence of these evils upon the life and thought of Germany has been attested by hundreds of her acutest thinkers and writers. Before the war brave men, here and there, uttered warnings of the things that were wrong, and were becoming more and more wrong; but the mass of people preferred prosperity with political danger and ease with political impotence.

If most of Bismarck's mistakes were made in home politics, the Emperor's principal failures were in foreign

affairs. It might have been his master principle to do in everything what Bismarck had not or would not have done. The old Chancellor left the Russo-German re-insurance treaty in full force; in his words, the wire to St. Petersburg remained still uncut, though fewer messages passed along it than formerly. Instead of renewing this treaty in 1890, as its author had intended to do, the Emperor let it drop, holding it to be inconsistent with the Triple Alliance, which continued. The effect was that Germany put herself entirely into the hands of Austria, an ally upon whom Bismarck had ceased to attach the old importance, while she was no longer able to exercise influence upon Russia, already drawing nearer to France. By 1895 these two Powers were publicly vowing eternal friendship, and two years later they cemented that friendship by a formal military alliance.

Already had opened the fateful era of Germany's *Weltpolitik*, or imperialism. A determination to play a prominent part in foreign affairs led the Emperor in 1895 into a clumsy intervention in the dispute between Great Britain and the Transvaal. Two years later he seized Chinese territory by way of penalty for the murder of German missionaries, though here he only followed well-established precedent and, moreover, Great Britain, Russia, and France all approved his act by doing the same thing immediately afterwards. As the traditional British friendship with Turkey had cooled, the Emperor offered his good offices to the Sultan, with the result that German banks were given the valuable Bagdad concession, which the British and French Governments, when invited later, indiscreetly declined to co-operate in working. Early in the new century trouble arose with France over the status of Morocco, following the conclusion of the Anglo-French convention of April, 1904, with its secret clauses, by which Great Britain gave France a free hand in that country while France, in return, undertook to do the same service for her partner in Egypt.

The negotiators of this act of territorial barter in-

excusably ignored Germany, taking no account of her large commercial interests in Morocco, her rights in the country under the international Treaty of Madrid (1880), and the fact that, just before, the British Colonial Secretary (Mr. Chamberlain) had proposed that the British and German Governments should act together in matters concerning the sultanate. France lost no time in asserting her influence in the country, whereas Germany legitimately contended for its continued independence and the policy of the "open door." After an international conference (1905) and the warning despatch of a small German gunboat to Agadir (1911), the issue became narrowed to one between those two Powers and Great Britain, from whose Government France had obtained a promise of assistance in the event of war occurring. Ultimately a settlement was arranged by which France practically had her way in Morocco in return for a cession of West African territory to Germany.

The treaty of 1904 with France preluded a definite re-orientation of British foreign policy. Three years later an analogous territorial agreement with Russia brought that Power into what now became the Triple Entente—a counterpart to the Triple Alliance. The immediate effect was that while Germany was bound more than ever to support Austrian policy in the East of Europe, Great Britain had placed her influence at the service of France and consequentially of that country's ally.

Yet a fact which more than any other led to the increasing official estrangement between Great Britain and Germany was the policy of naval expansion actively pursued by the Emperor during the later years of his reign. Not satisfied with having the strongest army in Europe, he wanted also a strong, if not the strongest, navy. Naval defence was no new question in Germany, for there had been attempts to create an imperial fleet from the middle of the nineteenth century forward. Nevertheless, so long as Bismarck continued in office Germany's naval designs were innocent, inoffensive, and

unaggressive. It was after he had gone that a "new course" began in this, as in other matters. What William II. did was to force the pace beyond any comprehensible need, stimulating the spirit of rivalry by boastful and inflammatory rhetoric and hardly-veiled suggestions of imperialistic aims, and finally avowing ambitions which created, and in the opinion of many people justified, the fear that direct menace to British naval power was intended. When the "Admiral of the Atlantic" (as he called himself) could publicly declare "The trident belongs in our hands," and "I shall not rest until my navy has been brought to the same standard as that of the army," alarm was natural in a country which gladly gave to Germany and the Continent a monopoly of large armies, but knew, as all the world knew, that its prosperity, security, and very life depended upon the protection of an invincible navy.

As a great navy grew in Germany, so great suspicion grew in Britain of Europe and beyond the seas, and it was this suspicion, and not the increasing commercial competition of Germany, or even colonial jealousies, which led on the British side to a change of emphasis in foreign relations, and eventually gave to the Entente of 1904 a more definitely political significance for this country than it was originally intended to have. France and Russia from the first had regarded it as an informal alliance, and this in effect it became.

The brutal murders of Serajevo on June 28th, 1914, and the resulting dispute between Austria and Russia over the responsibility of Serbia and the form and extent of its punishment, involved the two combinations of Powers in the Great War, but behind the immediate and visible causes of that catastrophe were older and deeper motives and antagonisms. From an unexampled world conflict Germany emerged no longer as an empire composed for the most part of monarchical States, but as a federation of Republics known as "Free States." Further, by the dictated Peace Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919) momentous territorial changes were intro-

duced to her hurt. Prussia lost territory to Belgium, Denmark, Poland, and Lithuania; France recovered from Germany Alsace and Lorraine; and Danzig, since 1793 (with a short interval) part of Prussia, was converted into a Free City for the second time in its history. Germany was also deprived of the whole of her colonies, which she had developed with singular success by laborious effort and prodigious sacrifice.

Here our story may fitly stop, since the political situation created by the war, and the economic and social conditions which have followed it, cannot be said to have yet crystallised into history. It follows that judgments upon them, if the historian would be an honest narrator, would need to be subjected to reservations which would deprive them of permanent value.

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A HISTORY OF RUSSIA

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NOTE.—*All dates are given according to the old style (JULIAN CALENDAR), which was accepted in Russia until 1918.*

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A HISTORY OF RUSSIA

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

THE country traditionally known as Russia, and officially, since 1922, as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for all its past and present variety, forms a geographical whole, which may be regarded as a "continent" by itself. Russian geographers have given it the name of Eurasia. It consists, roughly, of two zones—a great steppe in the south, stretching from the Danube to the borders of China, and a vast forest-land in the north, extending from the Pacific to the Carpathians and the Baltic. Except in the south-east, it is a low-lying, slightly undulated, almost unbroken plain. The Ural Mountains, which cut it in two, are little more than a belt of detached bluffs, and a geological rather than a geographical landmark.

The open steppe is remarkable for its homogeneity, its absence of natural barriers, and the mutual attraction of its farthestmost parts. From immemorial times it has been inhabited by cattle-raising nomads of various races; but the races have mixed freely, and more than once empires founded by nomads have extended their sway from the Danube to the Yellow River. The Mongol Empire, the last and greatest, overlapped the great Eurasian Steppe on all sides. The forest, more closed in and impenetrable, lacked the primitive and natural cohesion of the steppe. It took a long time before it emerged into the light of history. Only in the ninth century does it begin to

form cultural and political nuclei. One of them was the Russian kingdom of Kiev, whose political greatness was ephemeral, but to which go back the political and cultural traditions of a second Russian Empire, founded in the fourteenth century under Mongol influence, and which ended in practically reconstituting the Eurasian Empire of the Mongols.

Though Russia has become almost coextensive with Eurasia, her history is only part of Eurasian history. Its principal (and at first only) scene is the great plain of Cisuralian Russia. Being the westernmost division of Eurasia, it is distinguished from the others by a closer contact with the Western world of Europe. From the dawn of history, along with influences coming from Eastern Eurasia, Western influences are apparent in the Cisuralian plain. In the third and second millennium B.C. we find in its south-western corner a civilization ("the civilization of Tripolie") obviously related to the Mycenaean civilization of Greece. In the classic age of Greece and Persia the South Russian Steppe was occupied by Scythians, a nomad people, whose grazing-grounds extended from the Danube to Turkestan, and who were close kin to the Persians. Those of them who lived by the Black Sea came under Greek influence. They exported grain to Athens, importing, instead, Attic oil and earthenware. Mediterranean civilization obtained a firm footing in the Crimea, which remained Greek till late in the Middle Ages. Central European influences came to the forefront in the third century A.D., when the Goths founded a powerful kingdom which had its centre in South-Western Russia. But it was destroyed by the Huns in the following century. The Huns were followed by the Avars, and these by other nations with different names but a common culture. One of these nations—the Khazars—were more sedentarily and commercially inclined than the others. In the eighth and ninth centuries their kingdom, with its

cities on the Lower Volga and Lower Don, was a great international trading centre.

All these peoples moved and flourished in the steppe. The forest behind them remained unknown to the civilized nations of East and West. Towards the fifth century A.D. the greater part of it was occupied by Finns and cognate tribes; the Baltic shores by the Lithuanians; what is now White Russia, Poland, and Volynia by the Slavs, a people related in race and culture to the peoples of Central Europe, especially the Germans, but lagging far behind them in development. Linguistic evidence shows that economically, technically, and politically they were strongly influenced by the Goths. Words like "bread," "plough," "house," "town," "king," are borrowings from the Gothic. In the sixth century the Slavs began to expand westward and southward. Procopius, in the second half of the century, describes them as living in the south-west of the Russian plain and extending to the Black Sea. At about the same time, or a little later, they began also to spread north and eastwards into the lands of the Finns. In the ninth century we find them established in Novgorod (some hundred miles south of the present site of Petersburg); on the White Lake, three hundred miles farther East; in the land between the Upper Volga and the Oka; and on the Upper and Middle Don. Their civilization was low. They were acquainted with agriculture, but collecting and hunting were their principal means of subsistence. The several tribes into which they were divided lacked political cohesion, and were merely territorial designations. All Slavs spoke a language which in the ninth century was the same, with unimportant variations, from the Adriatic to Novgorod, and from the Elbe to the Don. Apart from their language, their common heritage was so poor and insignificant that practically nothing of it has survived. The several Slav nations are what history made them *after* their separation. In

spite of the specious unity of language, the "Slavonic" peoples have even less in common than the English and Germans, not to speak of that real and solid unity—the family of Latin nations of South-Western Europe.

CHAPTER II

THE KINGDOM OF KIEV

IN the ninth century the forest belt of Cisuralian Russia begins to be opened up. We see great trade routes intersecting it, and political and commercial life crystallizing round urban centres. The principal of these were Kiev and Bulgar, situated, respectively, where the Dnieper and the Volga, after receiving their last important tributaries, issue out of the forest into the open parkland. Bulgar was a Finno-Ugrian town, and its relations were down the Volga with the Caspian, which bordered then on the lands of the Khalifate. It early became the northernmost outpost of Islam. Kiev lay in Slavonic land. Its connections were with the Black Sea and Constantinople. Up river its waterways led to another commercial centre—Novgorod, on the Volkhov—whence an easy route opened into the Baltic. The country round Kiev was called Russia (Rus'), a name which, with the spread of Kievan power, spread to all the Eastern Slavs.

These towns were ruled by merchants, who were anything but peaceful business men; their nearest analogy within living memory is the Arab merchants who in the nineteenth century opened up Africa in search of ivory and slaves. In Russia, furs took the place of ivory. But human live stock was the main article of trade, and slaves captured in the course of yearly raids up the rivers into the forest hinterland were exported in large quantities to Constantinople.

A large proportion of the merchants of Kiev were Norsemen, but native Slavs associated with them in their lucrative trade. By the middle of the ninth century Kiev was organized into a kingdom, with kings (*knyaz'*, old Slavonic—*kunenzi*, Norse—*konung*) of Norse origin. A similar kingdom, also with a Scandinavian king, arose in Novgorod. About 880, Oleg, King of Novgorod, ousted the ruling King of Kiev, and founded a dynasty whose descendants were to become, seven centuries later, Tsars of Russia. The Russians of Kiev possessed considerable naval power and great military ambition. More than once they besieged and just missed capturing Constantinople. One of the successors of Oleg, Svyatoslav (945-972), was particularly famous for his raids and adventures. He conquered Bulgaria and menaced Constantinople from land, but was ultimately defeated by the Greeks. He also destroyed the kingdom of the Khazars, whose sedentary and urban polity had for two centuries been an effective barrier against the nomads of Eastern Eurasia.

Under Svyatoslav's son, Vladimir (980-1015), a fateful step was taken: Christianity was introduced (988). It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the change itself, nor of the fact that the new religion came from the new and not from the old Rome. Unlike the Celts, the Latins, or the Germans, the Slavs had no pagan tradition to speak of, so that civilization and Christianity are to be even more closely identified in medieval Russia than in medieval Europe. In receiving the orthodox faith from the Greeks, Russia received a purer and more genuine form of Christianity than it was granted to the West to receive; but the separation of the Churches (which became final a few decades later) elevated a barrier between Russia and the Latin West which was for many centuries complete. The question whether this is to be lamented or approved of has been for genera-

tions a main dividing line between Russian intellectuals. The obvious fact is that it was inevitable. The acceptance of Christianity from the Greeks was merely the cultural expression of the economic ties of Kiev with Constantinople. All roads from Kiev led to the new Rome, which was a stronger centre of attraction than any place in the West. As for Russia's nearest Western neighbours, the Poles were then emerging more slowly than Russia from an even lower state of savagery; and the Lithuanians remained heathens till four centuries later.

The influence of the Church began to make itself felt at once, though at first only in the centres. The royal family and the aristocracy of the large towns were rapidly christianized, and to a certain extent Byzantinized. But their Byzantinization had its limit in the fact that the Greek *language* was not introduced with the Greek faith. The Eastern Church having always favoured the translation of the Scriptures and liturgies into the vernaculars, the Russians had no stimulus to learn Greek, and remained unacquainted with the secular side of Byzantine culture.

The golden age of the Kievan political power occurred in the reigns of Vladimir and of his son Yaroslav (1019-1054). The latter also marks the highest point of Byzantine cultural influence. Kiev was then almost a rival of Constantinople. Its Cathedral of St. Sophia, erected by Yaroslav, is one of the greatest monuments of mid-Byzantine architecture. Economically Kiev depended on its trade with Greece, and consequently on keeping open the waterway of the Lower Dniepr. The control of this waterway had been in jeopardy ever since the destruction of the Khazar State by Svyatoslav, which had opened the Black Sea Steppe to the Turkish Patsinaks. Vladimir's reign was passed in constant war with them. When at length they were driven away there came from the East a new Turkish nation, the Cumans (or Kipchaks; in Russian,

Polovtsi). They dealt the united Russian kings a crushing defeat in 1068—a date that may be regarded as marking the final rupture of economic relations with Greece. The Russians not only lost control of the Lower Dniepr, but had difficulty in stemming the advance of the Cumans into the settled lands of the forest fringe. The decline of Kiev had begun, though at first it was slow.

Under Vladimir and Yaroslav, Kievan rule extended westwards as far as the Carpathians and almost to the Vistula, northward to the Neva, north-eastward to the Upper Volga and to the Middle Don, while an outlying colony (Tmutarakan) was situated on the North Caucasian coast. The King of Kiev ruled this empire with the aid of his sons. When a king died, all his sons succeeded him, each according to his seniority receiving a town and district in the order of their reputed importance, the eldest brother becoming Great King of Kiev. At first one of the brothers always succeeded in eliminating the others and establishing himself as sole king. So it was with Vladimir and Yaroslav. But after the latter's death it came to be recognized that the succession belonged to the whole royal family, and that every descendant of Vladimir being as good a king as every other, each had to have his kingdom carved out for him. As the dynasty multiplied rapidly, the country was soon split up into an infinity of independent kingdoms. At first the kings were very movable, and each time a senior king died, all the junior kings tried to move one seat higher. But very soon some branches of the dynasty became indissolubly connected with definite districts and began to take less interest in the succession of Kiev, and more in the development of their patrimonies. This tendency was strengthened by the decline of the economic importance of Kiev, which by the twelfth century ceased to be the commercial metropolis of Russia. The multiplication of kings called for a

corresponding increase of revenue, and this could only be obtained by the intensification of economic methods. Hunting for furs and collecting honey and bees'-wax began to recede before agriculture. The kings, their companions, and the merchants tried to develop their estates with the aid of unfree labour, and this put an end to the export of slaves. Owing to this intensification, and in spite of the almost permanent feuds between the kings and the cessation of large-scale export trade, the later Kievan period was still a period of increasing prosperity.

Kievan society was thoroughly aristocratic. The royal family alone was, by the middle of the twelfth century, so numerous as to form quite a social class by itself. Each king was surrounded by a group of military companions, the more important of whom were called his *men*, the less important his *boys*. They belonged, for the most part, to the territorial urban aristocracy descended from the pirate merchants of the ninth and tenth centuries, and now turned landlords. Collectively all the non-royal aristocracy were called *boyars*. The only other class that had any active share in the Kievan polity, besides the clergy, were the urban population. They formed the armed militia of the chief cities, and in this capacity had a voice in all controversial matters, especially when the succession to any particular throne was at issue. They formed the *véché*, which in the twelfth century in Kiev, in Novgorod, in Smolensk, and in other towns was a political force sometimes more important than the king and boyars. The clergy, monks, and town priests were recruited mainly from the higher and urban classes. They were the depositaries of learning and of moral teaching, and their influence was strong and to the good. But it did not reach far into the open country. All the monasteries of Kievan Russia were in or near the towns, the chief of them being the great Pechersky monastery of Kiev. The organization of the clergy,

headed by the Metropolitan of Kiev, was one of the important elements of unity that continued to keep together the Russian nation.

The external history of these times consists almost exclusively of feuds between the kings and of constant frontier warfare against the Cumans. The story of these wars is told, at times with admirable simplicity, at others with no less admirable art by the old Russian chroniclers. It would be unprofitable to attempt to summarize them here, or to enumerate the various kings that succeeded Yaroslav. One name only cannot be left unmentioned—that of Vladimir Monomakh, Great King of Kiev in 1113-1125. He was the ideal king, according to the ideas of the Old Russians—a peacemaker between his kinsmen and a great fighter against the infidel Cumans. His reign was a period when peace prevailed and unity was once more. But after his death the feuds recommenced. The importance of Kiev continued to decline, while that of the other kingdoms grew. Galicia in the south-west, Suzdal in the north-east, Smolensk in the centre, became the equals and rivals of Kiev. Still kings continued to contend for the Southern Metropolis, till at last in 1169 Andrew Bogolyubsky, King of Suzdal, took and sacked Kiev, assumed the title of Great King, but continued to live in his northern residence of Vladimir, contemptuously leaving Kiev to a younger kinsman.

CHAPTER III

DECLINE AND SURVIVALS OF THE KINGDOM OF KIEV

AFTER the sack of Kiev, the Suzdal country in the north-east, with its residence of Vladimir on the Klyazma, and Galicia in the extreme south-west, became the leading powers. The Suzdal country had

its natural outlet down the Volga into the Caspian. It was commercially more closely linked with the Mahometan Bulgar than with Kiev. At the same time Galicia was coming more and more under Hungarian influence. These east and westward tendencies of the two leading states were potent factors working against unity.

Still unity subsisted. The traditional importance of Kiev survived its political decline. As the seat of the Metropolitan and of the Pechersky monastery it retained its cultural supremacy. *The Campaign of Igor*, that solitary masterpiece of Old Russian poetry, relating a minor episode of the war with the Cumans (1185) is full of the sense of unity. It was even in these years that the name of "Russia" finally fixed itself on the whole territory ruled by the descendants of Vladimir, and ceased to be applied to the district of Kiev.

Meanwhile, in the depths of Eastern Eurasia events were brewing that were deeply to affect the course of Russian history. Genghizkhan had founded his great empire, and the Mongols, welded by him into an irresistible force, began their conquest of the continent. A first reconnoitring army of Mongols (or Tatars, as the Russians called them) appeared in South Russia in 1224, inflicted a smashing defeat on an allied Russo-Cumanian army, but after their victory withdrew once more into the eastern steppe. Thirteen years later the Mongols, led by Genghizkhan's grandson, Batû, reappeared this side of the Urals. After conquering the kingdom of Bulgar, they invaded Russia (1238), sacked Vladimir, and utterly defeated the Suzdal princes* on the Sit'. Continuing

* After the second quarter of the thirteenth century the title of *knyaz'*, cheapened by infinite subdivision and multiplication, ceases to be rendered into Latin by *rex*, and becomes mere *dux*.

his advance, Batû sacked and destroyed Kiev (1240), swept through Galicia into Central Europe as far as Lower Silesia, but on the news of the death of the Great Khan had to return with all his army to Mongolia to take part in the election of a new emperor.

After Batû's invasion large tracts of land along the south-eastern fringe of the forest belt remained waste and became the possession of Tatar chiefs; Suzdal was made a close dependency of the Mongol Empire; Galicia and Novgorod acknowledged Mongol suzerainty, in their case more nominal than effective. At the same time the west of Russia was overrun by savage Lithuanians, who before long formed themselves into a more or less solid state which began absorbing all the Russian principalities between Galicia and Suzdal. Political unity came to a definite end. The Russian language was also traversing a period of rapid transformation and differentiation. The Church, and the name of Russian, remained the only remnants of unity. It is from the thirteenth century that there dates the division of the Russian nation into three closely cognate yet different nationalities—the Ukrainians, the White Russians, and the Great Russians. They took form, however, only as the result of later movements of redintegration. For the moment all forces worked for disintegration, and for the next century and more there is no Russian history as a whole, only a number of local histories.

In the south the political and social traditions of Kiev were carried on by Galicia. A thriving agricultural and commercial country, Galicia flourished especially, and in spite of Batû's invasion, in the reign of Daniel (1235-1265), who accepted a king's crown from the Pope, while declining to be converted to Romanism. Isolated from her Western neighbours by the religious difference, isolated from the rest of Russia by the Tatars and Lithuanians, Galicia did not

survive long. Her powerful and turbulent aristocracy came under Polish influence, and when in the middle of the fourteenth century Poland, now a great power, annexed Galicia, the boyars were easily and willingly Polonized and Latinized. But the people remained true to their faith and their nationality and played their part in the Ukrainian revival of two and a half centuries later.

In the north the Kievan tradition was continued by its great commercial metropolis—Novgorod. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century the city was virtually a republic. The elected prince, narrowly limited by contract, was little more than a hired captain and honorary magistrate. The real executive was vested in the Posadnik, elected at will by the sovereign people. The sovereignty was exercised by the Véchë, a general gathering of all adult citizens. As a rule it was the obedient instrument of rival factions of the capitalist oligarchy. For all economical power was concentrated in the hands of a few families of boyars—moneylenders and landowners.

Like early Kiev, Novgorod was an essentially commercial city. Its economic greatness was based on the exploitation of its northern dependencies, which extended as far as the Murman coast and the mouth of the Obi. The staple article of export was furs. Novgorodian traders brought them to Novgorod, where the German Hanse had a factory that supplied with furs the whole of Europe. The merchants of Novgorod never went abroad. But they were the principal traders in the Suzdal country, where they sold foreign goods and bought grain, for the territory of Novgorod is unfit for agriculture. Novgorod's dependency on Suzdalian grain had in it the root of a general economic and political dependency on the lands of the Upper Volga, which became increasingly real when the princes of Moscow began to form a powerful monarchy.

Though in close commercial contact with the Latin West, Novgorod remained singularly free from Latin cultural influence. It was with a Novgorodian army and defending Novgorod that St. Alexander Nevsky defeated the Swedish and German crusaders, who aimed at gaining Novgorod for the Pope at the very time when the Tatars were overrunning the east and south of Russia (1240-1242). An even stancher bulwark against the aggressive Latin was Novgorod's "younger brother," Pskov, which grew into an independent city in the fourteenth century, and evolved a better defined and more democratic constitution than its greater neighbour. For about two centuries Novgorod was the cultural centre of Russia, and it was there that Russian painting achieved its first genuine triumphs. But the political rebirth of Russia was to come from the country subject to the Tatars.

CHAPTER IV

THE MONGOLS AND THE MAKING OF MUSCOVY

(1238—1565)

THE Mongol Empire consisted of several part-kingsdoms, each ruled by a branch of the house of Genghizkhan. The branch to which Batû belonged founded the kingdom of Kipchak (or the Golden Horde), which extended from the Altai Mountains to the Danube and had its capital at Saray on the lower Volga. It was to this branch that the Russian lands were subjected. The Kipchak Tatars did not attempt to colonize the forest land of Suzdal, but only organized its financial exploitation. It was made to pay a tribute, which at first took the form of a poll-tax. Tatar officials came to Suzdal to take cen-

suses of the population and levy the poll-tax. The Great Prince of Vladimir and all the minor princes were henceforward to derive all their authority from charters issued by the Khan. To obtain them the princes had to travel each time to Saray and spend large sums of money in winning over the wives, kinsmen, and ministers of the Khan. Saray became the scene of unscrupulous intrigue and shameless rivalry between Russian princes. For sixty years Tatar suzerainty was very effective. No opposition was possible. St. Alexander (1246-1263), the victorious enemy of the Latins, won almost equal renown by his submissive and propitiatory attitude to the Tatars. Towards 1300 the yoke began to slacken. Instead of being levied by Tatar officials, the tribute was farmed out to Mahometan capitalists, till at last (c. 1330) the task of levying it was entrusted to the Great Prince of Vladimir.

In religion the Tatars were originally animists, and were converted to Islam only in the fourteenth century. Like good heathens, they believed in all gods, and viewed with superstitious respect the clergy of all religions. Accordingly, the Metropolitan of Russia (who about 1300 moved his See from Kiev to Vladimir) received from the Khans a charter granting the Russian clergy immunity from the poll-tax and from all secular jurisdiction. Meanwhile, the Russian Church had entered on a period of exceptional moral and religious vitality—the fourteenth century is the age of the great Russian saints. Numerous monasteries were then founded, not as in Kievan times in or near the cities, but always further away in the backwoods. All combined to make the Church a power without rivals: politically it depended on no one but the supreme suzerain, the Khan; its spiritual authority was derived from the Patriarch of Constantinople; its economic basis was firmly established on vast possessions, inalienable and

immune from taxation, while its moral authority, thanks to its saints and hermits, was as high as it could be. In this state of things the Church was practically forced to assume the political leadership of the nation. But unlike the Roman, the Russian Church did not use its political power further to affirm its strength and independence. Instead, it chose itself a secular ally and worked towards the consolidation of his power. The ally was the House of Moscow, one of the principal branches into which the dynasty of Vladimir had subdivided.

The princes of Moscow were not, according to modern standards, particularly attractive personages. Their policy was to combine abject submission to the Khan (whose armed help they freely used against their cousins of Tver or Nizhni), with the steady and unscrupulous accumulation of movable and immovable wealth at home. Much of it was, again, spent at Saray in securing the favour of the Khan and of his court. These expenses paid well. Ivan Kalita (1328-1341) and his successors after him invariably succeeded in securing the throne of Vladimir with the rich lands and revenues attached to it. They greatly enhanced its value by adding to it the right to levy the Tatar tribute, which gave them an irresistible means of bullying the other princes into obedience. The Metropolitans gave their full support to the princes of Moscow. During the reign of the imbecile, Ivan II. (1353-1359), and the minority of Dimitri (1359-1389), the whole control of affairs passed to the Metropolitan, St. Alexis (d. 1378), one of the most able statesmen ever produced by Russia. It was during his administration that Moscow became not only the *de facto* hegemon, but was recognized as the moral leader of the nation. This coincided with the beginning of disintegration of the Golden Horde, where intrigues and civil wars led to a continuous change of Khans. At last, blessed by St. Alexis's spiritual

successor,* the hermit St. Sergius of Radonezh, Dimitri of Moscow decided on a change of policy, provoked the Tatars to war, and dealt them a smashing defeat on the field of Kulikovo, near the sources of the Don (1380). The results of the victory were annulled by two successive invasions of new hordes of Tatars more devastating than Batû's. The Tatar yoke was reasserted, but the moral effect of Kulikovo was nevertheless great: Moscow was irresistibly sealed the leader and rallying point of the nation.

Neither Dimitri's personality nor that of his two successors was in any way above the average. But the Prince of Moscow was, for the Church, the God-ordained Christian king; for his boyars a figurehead that helped them to become the rulers of vaster lands than before. So the Church and the boyars worked for the greatness of Moscow, and it grew like a snowball. Nizhni was annexed; Tver and Ryazan humbled; Lithuania held in check; Novgorod reduced to increasing dependence. Minor princes flocked into Moscow, commending their lands to the Great Prince and receiving them back as fiefs, and forming a brilliant and numerous Court about him. His last serious enemies were the cadets of the house of Moscow, who insisted on an equal share in the succession with the head of the house. Thanks to the support of the Church and the boyars (and in spite of the brutish inefficiency of the reigning Great Prince, Vasili II.), they were crushed (1453). When Vasili's son, Ivan III. (1462-1505), succeeded to his father, he had little more to do than to gather in the harvest sown by the policy of the older Metropolitans and boyars. He proclaimed his independence from the Tatars (1480); annexed Novgorod (1478), and Tver (1482), and as the result of a long and victorious war with Lithuania, extended his western frontiers to the Dniépr. To crown his achievements, Ivan III. inaugurated a new philosophy and practice of mon-

archic government, which was to transform the feudal Russia of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into a centralized monarchy after the Byzantine model, and conforming to the political ideal of the Church.

There was little that conformed with that ideal in the society that had seen the rise of the Muscovite power. It was a feudal society, based on the complete confusion of public and private relations. Political authority could be conceived by it only under one of two forms. It might either be the relation of owner to owned, and such was understood to be the relation of a ruler to his non-privileged subjects. Or it might be conditioned by more or less equilateral contract, and such was the relation of the Great Prince to his vassal princes and boyars. In the former case the prince was called *Gosudar'* (*dominus*, owner), and his subjects serfs (*lyudi*); in the latter he was *Gospodin* (suzerain), and his vassals were "free servants." The power of a ruler over his *lyudi* might be in practice limited by custom; but the relations between suzerain and "free servant" were strictly regulated by contract. A main point of such contracts was the right retained by the "servant" to leave his prince at will without incurring any confiscation of property. As the same rules obtained throughout the Russian world, including Lithuania, a "serving prince" or boyar might, for instance, possess lands in Lithuania, for which he owed homage to the Duke of Lithuania, and at the same time as the "servant" of the Prince of Moscow, command an army fighting against that Duke, and *vice versa*.

The early feudal aggrandizement of the Muscovite power proceeded along two ways—by the Prince becoming the *Gospodin* of an increasingly great number of "free servants," and the *Gosudar'* of an increasingly great number of lands and tenants. But

in its later stages an even more important part was played by the non-feudal conception of the Prince as the inheritor of the imperial power of the Khans on the one side, and on the other as the embodiment of the canonical and Byzantine idea of kingship—the successor of the Kings of Israel and of the Cæsars. As in the social atmosphere of the fifteenth century this monarchic idea could only be translated by the familiar conception of *Gosudar'*, the further evolution of the Muscovite polity consisted in the sovereign becoming less and less a *Gospodin*, more and more a *Gosudar'*.

The Byzantinization of Moscow received a powerful stimulus from two events of the mid-fifteenth century—the (soon retracted) apostasy of the Greek Church at the Council of Florence (1439), and the fall of Constantinople (1453). The former led to the Russian Church renouncing its allegiance to the Greek Patriarch and proclaiming itself autocephalous. The latter was interpreted as God's judgment on the Greeks for their apostasy. It made Moscow the *only* Orthodox kingdom in the world, the "Third Rome." Old Rome had lapsed into heresy; New Rome succumbed to the infidel; Moscow was the third and last. The feeling of having inherited the Roman succession was greatly strengthened by Ivan III.'s marriage with Sophia Palæologe, a niece of the last Greek Emperor. Still Ivan assumed only the titles of *Gosudar'* and Autocrat (Greek rendering of Emperor) and remained uncrowned. It was only in 1547 that his grandson and namesake finally took the title and crown of Cæsar (*Tsar'*), and only in 1589 that the head of the Russian Church was raised to patriarchal rank.

Russia's cultural isolation from Europe became complete after the "crusades" of the thirteenth century and their defeat by St. Alexander. On the other hand, isolated as she was, politically and geographically, from Greece, her Byzantine civilization assumed

original forms. By about 1400 the centre of Russian culture had shifted from Novgorod to Moscow. During Ivan III.'s reign Russia was "discovered" by Europe. Italians and Italianized Greeks came to Moscow in the suite of Sophia Palæologue. The walls and towers of the Kremlin still proclaim by their appearance that they were built by Lombard architects. About the same time a rationalist heresy sprang up, and even found favour at Court. But the Muscovite spirit had become conscious of itself as Russian and Orthodox, and these influences were stifled.

But apart from them the reigns of Ivan III. and his two successors were a transitional period full of political struggle and controversy. There were two main issues—the political issue between the Mongol-Byzantine-Biblical conception of autocracy, and the oligarchical aspirations of the aristocracy; the ecclesiastical issue between the official Church party who wanted to preserve the Church as a social and economical power, and the party of the Hermits who preached the abdication by the clergy of all worldly goods. The Hermits and the aristocracy had one common enemy—the Church as a privileged owner of land. They became allies, while the clerical party upheld the autocracy with all the force of canonical tradition. The Hermits were soon reduced to silence. Their allies, the serving princes, held out longer, but the victory of the throne was a foregone issue. The annexation of Novgorod and other lands had been accompanied by the spoliation on a large scale of the local landowners, whose lands (as well as other private lands of the Great Prince) were distributed on military tenure to small "serving people" (*not* "free servants") entirely dependent on the Great Prince. They formed a middle class, which became, together with the clergy, the principal support of the monarchy. The aristocracy made attempts to win over the serving people and the trading classes by projects of constitu-

tional reform. In 1550-1560 the liberal oligarchs succeeded in forming an administration (known to history as the "select council"), which worked in the spirit of a Montesquieu-like synthesis of monarchic, oligarchic, and democratic ideas. This was, in some respects, the most brilliant period in Muscovite history. The young and immensely popular Ivan IV. (1533-1584) had just adopted the title of the Cæsars. In 1552 he conquered Kazan (the successor of Bulgar on the Middle Volga), and in 1556 Astrakhan, the gate of the Caspian. In 1550 a great council codified the laws and usages of the Church of Russia, thus giving body to the conception of Russia as the vessel of Orthodoxy. A brilliant and exceedingly original school of architecture was elevating the churches that still strike the foreigner as the most amazing buildings in Russia. Trade was suddenly stimulated by the arrival of English merchants in the White Sea, which contributed to the commercial development of all the north. The provinces of the commercial north (and partly of the centre) were given extensive rights of self-administration, while the central administration fully realized its constitutional idea of government by the "Emperor in Council."*

But this was not to last. Flushed by his conquests in the East and by prospects of increased trade with the West, Ivan started a war to conquer Livonia. After some initial successes, the war dragged on indecisively. Lithuania and Poland intervened. Heavy expenditure was called for. The "select council," broken up by intestine intrigue, was dissolved, and the old ideas of autocracy and absolute *Gosudarism* once more came to the front, this time assuming the form of a regular "revolution from above"—the famous *Oprishnina*, proclaimed in 1565. Its principal

* English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries invariably translate "Tsar" by "Emperor."

act consisted in a wholesale confiscation of land, chiefly from the princes and boyars. The land thus obtained was distributed in military tenure, while the dispossessed owners received new lands, also in conditional tenure. The result of the whole procedure was the final destruction of the old feudal class of "free servants," who became merged in the class of "serving people." ("People"—*lyudi*—is, in this context, the equivalent of "serfs.") The *Oprishnina* was thus a great social revolution which conditioned the whole subsequent course of Russian history. But its meaning was obscured for contemporaries by the spectacular and grimly whimsical forms Ivan chose to give it, and by the sadistic excesses that accompanied it and earned him his surname of "Terrible." The most understanding account of it by a contemporary is to be found in Giles Fletcher's book, *On the Russe Commonwealth* (1588).

CHAPTER V

THE MUSCOVITE MONARCHY

(1565—1669)

FROM the point of view of a general history of Eurasia, the principal feature of Russian history between 1550 and 1650 was the rapid southward and eastward advance of the Muscovite power.

The preceding century had seen the extreme northward advance of the Nomads. The Krim Tatars, backed by Turkey, controlled all the steppes west of the Don, and their raids reached far into the forest belt. They came every summer, carrying away thousands of Russian captives, whom they sold as slaves on the Mediterranean markets. As late as 1571 they burned the very suburbs of Moscow. The Russian reconquest of the parkland belt began soon after 1550.

Lines of defence were constructed running from the Don to the Polish frontier, and manned with military tenants. Every summer large armies were mobilized to meet the enemy. By slow degrees, and with occasional set-backs, the line of defence advanced south, until about 1650 it had reached, roughly, the latitude of Kharkov. The agricultural population accompanied its advance, sometimes even overtaking it, at their own peril. Far ahead of the official military frontier lay settlements of the independent Cossacks, men who had preferred a dangerous but free and plentiful existence under the nose of the Tatars to serfdom and tax-paying at home. By the second half of the sixteenth century Cossack communities had been founded on the Lower Don, and, farther east, on the Yaïk and on the Terek. They were organized as military democracies, subsisted on fishing and plunder, and acknowledged the suzerainty of Moscow, which did nothing to enforce it.

In the eastward direction Russia made a great stride in 1552-1556, with the conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan. The conquest of Siberia was begun in the last years of Ivan IV.'s reign by a band of free-booting Cossacks in the pay of the Stroganov family, the merchant princes who administered the Ural mountains as agents of the Tsar. The destruction of the Tatar kingdom of Sibir, on the Irtysh, was the first chapter in a story that has many analogies with the Spanish conquest of America, only, the treasure the Russians were after was not gold, but precious furs. The pioneers combined great daring and enterprise with ruthlessness and rapacity. In search of new, untouched forest-land, they reached in a few decades the Behring Straits and the Chinese frontier. The advance after furs proceeded through the thick of the woods. The rich parkland belt south of it remained almost unnoticed, and agricultural colonization kept to the southern rim of the forest.

While the work of colonization was being carried on largely by private initiative, at home the Muscovite Government was organized on a strictly centralized basis. The Sovereign was the source of all authority. The Church alone was an independent force. As its doctrine of the Orthodox king was the very foundation of his power, no Tsar ever rebelled against its authority, or attempted to curtail its rights; though some of them took measures against excessive donations of land to the monasteries, and tried to induce the clergy to take over part of the burden of taxation. There was no written concordat between Church and State; all depended on tradition, but tradition was the very life-blood of Muscovy. It was tradition that maintained the boyars in a place of honour long after they had ceased to be a social force, and become merely the top ranks of the serving class; tradition that regulated their precedency in all offices of peace and war according to the recorded precedency of their respective ancestors; tradition that preserved the aristocratic constitution of the Boyars' Council, and retained at the head of all edicts the formula: "The Tsar has ordered and the Boyars decided." The actual work of government was controlled by low-born scribes (*diaki*), who, however, ranked below the least of the junior boyars. The scribes administered the offices (*Prikazy*), which were all concentrated in Moscow, and between which the judicial and administrative business of the State was distributed without any semblance of logical order. The working of the administrative machinery was ponderous and slow; even when its wheels were well greased, as they usually were, by the "presents" of the interested parties.

All secular society, from top to bottom, was permanently mobilized to work for the State. The main divisions were the "serving people" (*sluzhilye lyudi*), who did the military and administrative work, and

the "tax-paying people" (*tyaglye lyudi*), who included the peasants and townspeople. The latter were organized into guilds for the payment of taxes. The richer merchants were also government officials responsible for various branches of the revenue. All the peasants were, in principle, tenants of somebody else's land. Ever since land had acquired any kind of value it had been appropriated by princes, boyars, and monasteries. The tenants were placed under the jurisdiction of their *gosudars*. The peasants who lived on crown land were practically free. They formed self-administering communes (much larger and standing in no relation to the later "rural commune"), and, socially, stood on a level with the townspeople. They were particularly numerous in the north. But the peasants living on lands granted in military tenure to the serving men were more effectively enserfed, for their masters were paid in land and tenants, and had to squeeze all they could out of these latter in order to meet their military obligations.

The tenants had the right to leave their landlord, after paying a forfeit, but this right was exercised in practice only in the interests of richer and more powerful landlords, who tried to attract labour from the lands of weaker neighbours. They did it by buying out, but, even oftener, perhaps, by simply kidnapping peasants from off the estates of poorer serving people. The government's policy was to protect the serving men from such unlawful loss of hands, and to render more effective the serving man's authority over his tenant, who thus gradually became his serf.

Owing to the wars, which were practically continuous, the burden of service and taxation borne by the people was invariably above their real capacity, and Muscovy lived in a chronic state of economic crisis. There were only two classes exempt from

obligations to the State: the clergy and the slaves. It is important to distinguish between the slaves (*kholopi*) and the serfs; the slaves stood outside civil society, had, as it were, no legal existence, and consequently paid no taxes. Many serving people found it advantageous to become the slaves of persons in power. The State did all it could to prevent this unlawful evasion of its demands. But there was an even better way of evading them, and that was emigration to the borderlands, which was widely resorted to by members of all classes. It created a constant floating and unstable population in the South, ready for any emergency and eager for trouble.

In spite of the instability due to the intolerable weight of taxation and service, Muscovite society had substantial elements of political and cultural stability. Nothing shows this more conclusively than the story of the so-called Time of Troubles (*Smutnoye Vremya*) of the first years of the seventeenth century: no succession of troubles of such importance ever resulted in so complete a return to the starting-point.

The Time of Troubles began with a dynastic crisis. Ivan IV., dying in 1584, left two sons—Theodore, who succeeded to the throne, and Dimitri, a small boy. Theodore left the affairs of government to his brother-in-law, Boris Godunov, an able statesman, who while continuing the general lines of Ivan IV.'s policy, sought to mitigate its excesses. Dimitri died in 1591 under mysterious circumstances; Theodore in 1598, childless. The dynasty of Moscow came to an end. A Parliament was summoned to elect a new Tsar, and, in accordance with the prevailing wishes of the serving class and clergy, elected Boris Godunov. At first all were content, except a few intriguing boyars, but in 1601 there came a terrible famine, which brought out all the precariousness of the general, economic, and social situation. Discontent spread, and concentrated on Boris. A young man

turned up in Poland and gave himself out to be the Tsarevich Dimitri, who had miraculously escaped the assassins Boris had hired to kill him. With semi-official Polish support and at the head of an army of Polish adventurers and Russian malcontents, the "False Dimitri" entered the south-west provinces of Muscovy. He was defeated by Boris's generals, but all the population of the frontier flocked to his cause. On this Boris suddenly died. His generals deposed his sixteen-year-old son, and went over to the "Impostor," who entered Moscow as lawful Tsar (1605). Before long his pro-Polish leanings destroyed his too easily won popularity. He was deposed and killed, and Prince Vasili Shuysky, the organizer of the *coup d'état*, was proclaimed Tsar, with the support of the boyars, the clergy, and the populace of the capital. But the South refused to accept him, and a succession of rebellions soon plunged the country into anarchy. The rebels consisted of slaves, Cossacks, and discontented serving people. But many boyars were in sympathy with them. A Tsar was again produced under the name of Dimitri, and the rebel army established its headquarters at Tushino, at the very gates of Moscow. Bands of rebels and Polish adventurers overran the whole country, plundering the inhabitants. The King of Poland crossed the frontier, demanding cessions of territory. After four years of such anarchy Vasili Shuysky was deposed (1610) by the boyars, who offered the throne to Wladyslaw, the King of Poland's son, on condition that he should be converted to Orthodoxy. The condition was rejected, but a Polish garrison occupied Moscow. The Swedes, who had been called in by Shuysky to help him against the Poles, made themselves masters of Novgorod. The country was leaderless and a welter of anarchy. The Church alone held out: the sixteen months' defence of the Trinity Monastery against the Poles and Cossacks, and the martyrdom of the

Patriarch, St. Hermogen, who, from a Polish prison, sent out exhortations to the country to fight the Poles, had a strong effect on national opinion. The middle-classes of the central and northern provinces were strongly opposed to anarchy, and wanted nothing better than to restore the old order. Their first efforts were unsuccessful. At last a movement started in Nizhni, and immediately supported in the north, succeeded in forming a national army and an acceptable provisional Government. Led by Prince Pozharsky (who, in spite of his title, belonged to the lower layer of the serving class) the army marched on Moscow, and after a long siege forced the Poles to evacuate it. A Parliament was immediately summoned for the election of a new dynasty. With some difficulty the various elements represented in it—the clergy, the serving people, the towns and the Don Cossacks—agreed on the person of Michael Romanov, a young boy of a famous family, that was connected by marriage with the old dynasty. Anarchy continued in the south-east, but was gradually suppressed. Peace with Poland and Sweden was finally bought at the price of considerable loss of territory (Smolensk and Chernigov to Poland, the Baltic coast and the Neva to Sweden).

The most remarkable point in the whole cycle of events is the part played by the Parliaments of 1598 and 1613. That, in the absence of a Tsar, the sovereign power resided in the "land" (*zemlya*)—i.e., in the nation—was an obvious and incontrovertible principle. But the land exercised its power only in order to find a new Tsar as soon as possible, and, as soon as the Tsar was found, all power was immediately and unreservedly handed over to him, no conditions being put to him, and no control retained over the order of succession—a practice which, as a recent writer remarks, seems to be the embodiment of the political doctrine of Hobbes.

The reign of Michael Romanov (1613-1645) was a

time of heavy uphill reconstruction work. The monarchy needed all the support of the classes that had restored it. To this end a succession of Parliaments was convoked. Their influence on affairs was almost unlimited, but they made no attempt to widen it or to strengthen their position. The deputies regarded their duties as heavy obligations rather than precious rights. When, after the Parliament of 1649 had passed the civil code which embodied all the desires of the dominating classes (especially of the serving people), the practice of convoking Parliaments was discontinued, this does not seem to have given ground to any opposition on the part of the represented classes. The Parliaments had done their work. One of their principal achievements was the more effective enserfment of the peasants to their masters, the serving people, whose conditional tenure of land was gradually but irrevocably transformed into unlimited freehold. The code of 1649 marks the final attainment by the serving people of their wishes regarding their tenants, and begins the gradual assimilation of serfs to slaves.

But it was now also that the peasants began to acquire a class consciousness. Slaves and serfs had taken part in the social movement of the Time of Troubles, but the movement itself received its colouring from the dissatisfied elements of the serving class. Now, for the first time in Russian history, the struggle between the aristocracy and the lower gentry having come to an end, the struggle begins between the people and the serving class, which at first, however, appears as the people's enemy, less in the quality of serfowners than in the quality of a ubiquitous, meddling, and largely irresponsible class of administrators. The first sign of a new state of things was the great rising of Razin (1670-1672). Razin was a leader of one of the then numerous bands of robber Cossacks who found it more amusing

to plunder the coasts of Persia and levy blackmail on the Volga than to serve under the command of the Tsar's officers. But when he openly raised the banner of revolt and began his march up the Volga to Moscow he was accepted by the peasants, Russian and non-Russian, of the east of Russia as the leader of a social revolution which aimed at the overthrow of the whole of the Muscovite hierarchy—boyars, squires, and scribes. It was suppressed with difficulty, and Razin remained a legendary hero in the people's memory.

After the Time of Troubles, Western infiltration, in the shape of English and Dutch merchants and of German and Scottish mercenaries in the Russian army, proceeded on an ever-increasing scale. But the foreign merchants remained segregated from the Russians, and, as for the foreign soldiers, they, as a rule, "went Russian" in a remarkably short space of time. The crisis of the Muscovite national consciousness began from within. Its first source was a fatal split inside the conservative core of the nation. This was the *Raskol*, or Schism of the Old Believers. The main point of scission was the attitude to the Greeks. The champions of extreme ecclesiastical nationalism maintained that the Russian Church was the one true Orthodox Church and that where its usages differed from those of the Greeks, it was the Greeks, semi-heretics and slaves of the infidel that they were, who were wrong. Another party upheld the authority of the Greeks, and its head, Nikon, on ascending the patriarchal throne, proceeded to substitute Greek for time-honoured Russian usages. The Old Believers, led by the fiery and intransigent Avvakum, refused to accept Nikon's innovations. A council, presided over by two Greek patriarchs, excommunicated them and confirmed the innovations (1666). A large section of the nation adhered to the Old Believers. For two or three generations they were fiercely persecuted by the

Government, and lived in expectation of the day of judgment. But gradually from a sect of adventists they developed into an exceedingly conservative community, hostile to the Government, but essentially law-abiding. It was in the trading classes that they had most adherents, and old-believing merchants and industrialists played a prominent part in the building up of Russian capitalism two centuries later.

Another conflict associated with the name of Patriarch Nikon, the conflict between Church and State, was of less importance. Nikon was the aggressor. There can be no doubt that in his attempt to arrogate to himself the title of *Gosudar'* and a virtual equality with the Tsar, he was influenced by Papal example. Nor did he find support in any considerable body of Church opinion. He was deposed, but the Tsar Alexis did not take advantage of his victory over Nikon to humiliate the Church. It was not Nikon's Papalism, but the Raskol and the Ukrainian invasion that shattered the foundations of the Russian Church. Alexis (1645-1676) himself was a profoundly religious man and the best type of the Muscovite gentleman—pious and dignified, a lover of peace, of sport, and of beauty. He was the last, and perhaps the best, incarnation of the harmonious equipoise of the Muscovite mind.

CHAPTER VI

WHITE RUSSIA AND UKRAINA UNDER ALIEN RULE

IN the second half of the thirteenth, and in the fourteenth, century most of the West Russian lands were incorporated in the "Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Russia." The population of the Duchy was over-

whelmingly Russian, but its dynasty and its Lithuanian (as distinct from its Russian) aristocracy remained heathens till late in the fourteenth century, and after Duke Yagaylo (Jagiello) was elected King of Poland (1386) came under Polish and Catholic influence. So that the national consciousness of the state never became Russian.

The zenith of the Lithuanian power was reached under Vitovt (1388-1430), when the Duchy extended from the Oka to the Black Sea and, almost, to the Baltic. It was a loosely feudal state with little cohesion, the Duke exercising an effective authority only in his own extensive estates, the estates of the numerous princes and boyars being practically so many independent principalities. The Orthodox clergy were illiterate, simoniacal, and uninfluential. The peasants were voiceless serfs. The middle classes could not compete with the Jews, who, attracted by the privileges accorded them by the dukes and magnates, settled in the Lithuanian towns in ever-increasing numbers.

Lithuania soon lost her Black Sea possessions to Turkey, and all her eastern provinces to Muscovy. But Lithuanian independence continued until the lower gentry of Lithuania, jealous of the magnates and envious of the preponderating position acquired by the gentry in Poland, succeeded in bringing about a union with that kingdom (Union of Lublin, 1569). Its terms were similar to those of the Union of England and Scotland: there was to be a common Diet representing on equal terms the gentry (and only the gentry) of the two countries, but Lithuania was to remain a separate national entity, with its own laws, army, executive, and judicial institutions. Her southern provinces, however, were transferred, in accordance with the wishes of their gentry, to Poland. So that, in addition to the earlier annexed Galicia, Poland proper now included Volynia, Podolia, and

Kiev. These territorial arrangements are important for the understanding of the repartition of the primitive Russian (Kievan) nation between the three Russian nations of to-day: while the Great Russians are the Muscovites, the White Russians are the Russians of the lands that were, and remained, Lithuanian, the Ukrainians of the lands that formed part of Poland proper.

At the time of the Union of Lublin, Poland was in the full flush of Renaissance and Reformation. But very soon the Jesuits started a vigorous anti-Orthodox campaign, parallel to an anti-Protestant one. One of their favourite methods—an appeal to snobbish sentiment—proved particularly effective; in less than a generation the West Russian aristocracy was converted to the religion of polite society. The middle and lower classes remained staunchly loyal to Orthodoxy. The burgesses of Vilna, Lvov, and Kiev formed themselves into brotherhoods for the defence of their faith. When the higher Orthodox clergy, who were little better than a branch of the aristocracy, consented to a union with Rome (Union of Brest, 1596), the brotherhoods, and with them the lower clergy and the people, refused to recognize it. They founded schools where a new clergy, democratic and educated, were trained to fight the Catholics with the aid of Catholic scholastic methods. Thus the nationality of West Russia was rescued, but at the cost of adopting foreign methods and foreign culture.

As in Muscovy, the century (1550-1650) was one of rapid advance of the agricultural population into the steppe. In a few decades all the parkland of Padolia, Kiev, and Poltava was colonized by Ukrainian peasants. But the Polish *pans* (squires) moved with them, and instituted themselves feudal owners of all the newly colonized, or still uninhabited, land. There was no escape from the feudal extortions of the *pan* and (a main source of vexation) from his exclusive

right to sell alcoholic liquor. Part of the frontier peasants were organized into a royal military force, called "registered Cossacks," but the magnates were all the time trying to reduce their number and convert them into serfs. Only beyond the effective reach of the Polish power was there real freedom. A community of independent Cossacks (*Zaporogian*) founded a settlement (*Syich*) beyond the rapids of the Dniepr. Like the Great Russian Cossacks, they lived mainly by plundering the Turks and Tatars. They recognized the suzerainty of the King of Poland, but were sworn enemies of the *pans*. The *Syich* became the sanctuary of all malcontents from Ukraina, and took a leading part in a succession of anti-Polish revolts, the most notable of which was that of 1638, suppressed by the *pans* with ruthless cruelty. The reaction that ensued made the situation of the peasants still more intolerable, and led, in 1648, to a new rebellion, when *Zaporogians*, registered Cossacks, and peasants united under the leadership of an Orthodox squire, Bohdan Khmelnitsky. The rising was accompanied by tremendous massacres of *pans*, Catholic priests, and Jews (who had unpolitically identified themselves with the *pans* by accepting service as their estate agents and by farming public-houses). Khmelnitsky's first successes were followed by reverses. After trying an alliance with the Krim Tatars, the Cossacks at last decided to recognize Muscovite suzerainty (1654).

So Moscow intervened, but her intervention made matters no better, at first. For forty years Ukraina was the theatre of war between Muscovites, Poles, Turks, and rival factions of Cossacks. The peace between Moscow and Poland left Poland all White Russia, and all the Ukrainian lands west of the Dniepr except Kiev and its district; Eastern Ukraina was formed into a Cossack state under Muscovite suzerainty, but with complete interior (and even diplomatic) autonomy. It was ruled by a Hetman elected in

theory by all the Cossacks, but in practice by the chiefs, who had already formed themselves into an oligarchic caste on the Polish model. Cossack Ukraina developed a culture of its own on a foundation of highly Latinized Orthodoxy. Its golden age was the reign of the Hetman Mazeppa (1688-1708).

In the provinces that remained Polish, the social oppression of the *pans* and the work of denationalization could now proceed unimpeded. Severed from its most active elements, the Cossacks, the West Russian population were reduced to the state of human cattle (*bydło* in Polish), illiterate, with no social openings and no civil rights. A Russian in eighteenth-century Poland was a serf, and could be nothing else—and this though, since the reign of Peter I., Poland had become a political satellite of Russia, and Russian troops were almost constantly quartered in some part of her territory. The partition of Poland, however, was hastened by the terrible *jacquerie* of the *haydamaks* (1769), when the exasperated Ukrainian peasantry revived the horrors of Khmelnitsky's Terror against Pole and Jew.

CHAPTER VII

RUSSIA GOES WEST

(1669—1741)

ABOUT 1650, Russia was a culturally self-contained country which regarded itself as the one Orthodox kingdom on the earth, and judged the world from this self-centred standpoint. A century later her ruling class, sharply marked off from the people, looked up to Europe as the one paragon of civilization, and their highest ambition was to rival the West in the ways of the West. The annexation of the semi-Europeanized

Ukraina and the schism in the Church were the prelude to this transformation.

It had two main sources. It was the outcome, on the one hand, of an effort to attain a financial, military, and administrative technique that would be adequate to the imperial policy inaugurated by the annexation of Ukraina; and, on the other hand, of a profound crisis of the Muscovite mind which ceased to be satisfied by the stable, self-centred, and hieratic culture of the Third Rome, and began to aspire after the freer forms of Western civilization.

The infiltration of Latin culture into Moscow began with the arrival of the first Ukrainian scholars soon after 1654. Its most interesting aspects are to be studied in the history of painting and architecture.

Protestant Europe had a long-established outpost in Moscow itself. The Muscovite Government knew that, unlike the Catholics, Protestants might be trusted to refrain from religious propaganda in a foreign country, if such was their interest (so the Japanese Government at the same time, while expelling the Portuguese, suffered the Dutch to remain). Protestant merchants and various Protestant specialists and skilled workmen in the Muscovite service lived in a special suburb of Moscow — *Nemetskaya Sloboda* ("the German Liberty," *némets* (German) including in Muscovite Russian all Germanic-speaking peoples).

The first openly pro-"German" administration was that formed by Artamon Matveyev in 1669—a date that may be taken as beginning the period of Europeanization. The Matveyev administration remained in power till 1682, when it was followed by the Ukrainophile and Polonophile Regency of the Princess Sophia. In 1689, Sophia was deposed by her younger brother, Peter. At first he left the business of government to his maternal relations, the Naryshkins, who conducted it in an anti-Catholic and partly reactionary spirit. But Peter was already on the war-

path: discarded the traditional etiquette of the Court; chose for his bosom friend the Swiss engineer, Lefort; passed most of his time studying mechanics, soldiering, and navigation, and the rest carousing in the German Liberty. He formed a small new-model army (which a little later became the Guards), and built a fleet at Voronezh, on the Don. With this fleet and army he attacked Azov, the Turkish fortress at the mouth of the Don, and took it (1695). After this first triumph Peter went abroad (an unprecedented thing for a Muscovite monarch to do), and there again he studied navigation and shipbuilding. While he was away a mutiny, fomented by the conservatives and Old Believers, broke out in the old-model garrison of Moscow. Peter returned, put down the mutiny with a cruelty that revived the times of Ivan the Terrible, and began his famous reforms (1698).

Like the Turks of to-day, Peter knew the importance of externals, and his first "reform" was symbolical: he ordered all the serving class to shave their beards and don the "German" coat. Only the common people were allowed henceforward to dress as they liked. Western forms of social life, with the free intercourse of sexes and the encouragement of amorous sentiment implied by them, were forced on the upper class almost against their will. The sudden transition from the severe and impersonal forms of Muscovite tradition to this new freedom of licence could not fail to produce a moral anarchy, which remained a characteristic of Russian "society" throughout the eighteenth century. Peter himself set the example of drunken and promiscuous debauch.

Peter's pet dream was to make Russia a naval power, and to realize it he declared war on Sweden, in the hope of conquering its possessions east of the Baltic. Sweden was at that time the most efficient military power in Europe, and her king, Charles XII., a captain of brilliant gifts. He began the war by

suddenly and utterly destroying the Russian army before Narva (1700). But Peter's tenacity in continuing the war was equal to his rashness in declaring it. Immediately after the disaster he strung all the resources of the country to the utmost in order to reconstruct an army and continue the struggle. All Peter's tenacity would have been of no avail if he had not had at his disposal the secular devotion and unbreakable discipline of the serving class that had given the throne to his grandfather. It formed the new army, and, a more difficult thing for a class that had never had anything to do with the sea, the new navy; even a large proportion of the private soldiers and seamen were serving men.

The tenacity of Peter and of his army soon began to be rewarded. Three years after Narva the mouth of the Neva was already in Russian hands, and the city of St. Petersburg founded, which was in a few years to replace Moscow as the capital of the empire. Six years later Charles, after committing a great political and strategical blunder, was utterly routed at Poltava (1709). The battle decided the issue of the war and endowed Peter with unprecedented prestige in Europe. But with his usual rashness he engaged in a campaign with Turkey, which ended in disaster (1711) and in the retrocession of Azov.

The war with Sweden dragged on, draining the resources of the country, till 1721, when the peace of Nystat gave Russia the territory she had already conquered: the banks of the Neva (with Petersburg already the capital), part of Finland, and the Baltic provinces of Esthland and Lievland. The annexation of these latter introduced into the Russian body politic for the first time a purely European territory, where the native Letts and Estonians were the serfs of a squirearchy of German barons. The political privileges of the Barons had been greatly curtailed by the Swedish kings, but Peter restored them in all their

medieval integrity, thus inaugurating a new policy of special privileges for Russia's European subjects.

The social changes of Peter's reign were on the whole in the direction given by the seventeenth century: the gulf between the upper and lower classes widened, but more rapidly than it would have done under more normal circumstances. For the peasants it brought the official assimilation of serfs and slaves—the slaves being raised to a civil status to allow them to pay the poll-tax. This poll-tax, imposed on all the non-privileged classes, whether free or unfree, was the heaviest burden ever borne by the Russian people. At the end of Peter's reign it formed the bulk of the revenue, and all the empire was organized with a view to securing its regular payment. Throughout his reign Peter tried to encourage commerce and industry, and for this purpose made fitful attempts to raise the social status of the trading classes. Commerce was greatly promoted by the conquest of the Baltic ports. But very little came of the attempted "industrial revolution," except the opening up of the mining districts of the Ural mountains, where the peasant population, hitherto free, were made the serfs of the mine-owners. As a whole the trading classes remained refractory to the new order, and largely under the influence of Peter's most implacable enemies, the Old Believers. The only class that accepted Europeanization were the serving people. Under the influence of European ideas, they transformed themselves into a corporate "nobility," with a strongly marked class consciousness, and clearly marked off from the rest of the population.

The autocracy of the Muscovite Tsars had been implicitly limited by their adherence to tradition, and by the position of the Church. Peter, in his semi-legislative, semi-literary productions, proclaimed himself an absolute "arbitrary monarch" obeying in all things nothing but his own will. It must be conceded

that he was, in a certain sense, guided by the idea of duty and regarded his power as a trust, not as an object of enjoyment. But his notions of duty were arbitrary and fantastic, and unrelated to the ideas of his people. His conception of the unlimited "justice of the monarch's will" found a striking expression in the law which established the complete freedom of the Emperor (the title of *Imperator* was assumed after the peace of Nystat) in disposing of the succession to the throne. The law was the outcome of the affair of Peter's son, Alexis, tortured to death by his father in 1718, for having concerted with the opposition. Its effect was that after Peter's death the throne fell to his widow Catherine, an alien and illiterate harlot, and that till the end of the century it was at the mercy of every conspiracy.

Peter's principal enemy was the Church. He began his campaign against it by the abolition of the patriarchate (1700), and ended it in the institution, after the Lutheran model, of a "Most Holy Synod," which reduced the Church to the rank of an administrative department of the State, placed under the supervision of "a reliable field-officer," with the title of *Ober-Prokurator* (1721).

The opposition throughout Peter's reign was bitter and obstinate in all classes except the rank and file of the serving people. It was actuated partly by conservative sentiment, but chiefly by the intolerable burden of taxes and unpaid labour for the State. To combat this opposition, a "secret chancellery" was instituted immediately after the mutiny of 1698, and it maintained a reign of terror till Peter's death. Its most famous martyr was the Tsarevitch Alexis, but its humbler victims are beyond enumeration.

Peter's "reforms," properly so called, were really and lastingly effective only in the army and navy, which he succeeded in placing on as high a level as any in Europe. His administrative reforms were more

fictitious. The numerous posts and boards he introduced, with long names, high-sounding in German but unpronounceable in Russian, for the most part did not survive him. The actual administration was carried on by the personal and practically irresponsible rule of his favourites and friends. They were the governors of the newly created immense provinces; the presidents of the twelve ministerial "colleges" and the members of the "Senate," a body instituted in 1711, with ill-defined functions and a power limited only by that of the monarch. Beneath them and by their side odd jobs were entrusted to army officers.

When Peter died (1725) it was to these "fledglings of his nest" that the real power passed. They formed themselves into a "Supreme Privy Council" of seven or eight members, which carried on all the government. With the one exception of Prince Dmitri Golitsyn, who was a real statesman with broad views, they were morally and politically inferior to Peter, and had not even a trace of his sense of duty, however fantastic that might have been. Force of circumstances compelled them, however, to follow the only policy made possible by the state of exhaustion in which Peter had left the country. Economy became their watchword. Most of Peter's high-sounding but unworkable institutions were scrapped, the army and navy reduced, foreign policy conducted on unaggressive lines, the poll-tax diminished. In a quiet way they were allowing the country once more to breathe. They remained in power (not without some mutual expelling and exiling) throughout the reigns of Peter's widow, Catherine I. (1725-1727) and of his grandson, Peter II. (1727-1730). After the latter's death, when there was no obvious heir to the throne, they offered it to Peter's niece, Anne, Duchess of Courland, on the condition of her signing an instrument which limited autocracy and practically vested the supreme power in the Council. Anne signed, but when she

came to Moscow she discovered that the general and field-officers of the army, and the "nobility" in general, disapproved of the "conditions" she had signed. Some of them proposed a more "democratic" constitution that would limit the monarchy, not in favour of a few big bosses, but of the whole of the nobility. But the majority were quite content with autocracy, and petitioned Anne to that effect. So Anne tore up the "conditions," "resumed autocracy," and abolished the Supreme Privy Council.

As she took no interest in the affairs of government, they were carried on by a new set of big bosses, chiefly of German origin, who, instead of continuing the wise policy of the "Supremists," resumed the ruthless extortion of the poll-tax from the peasants, accompanied by military coercion and torture. All classes were made to live in constant terror of the "secret chancellery," where torture followed by execution or exile to Siberia awaited all who were reported as having said a word against Anne or her favourite, the Courlander, Bieren. What aggravated the ugliness of this policy was that, while in Peter's time the money was spent—however wastefully—on making Russia a great Power, under Anne most of it was squandered on the amusements of the Empress and her Court. The same conditions continued under the regency of Anne's niece, Anne of Brunswick (1740-1741), only that the Court clique was now weakened by internecine quarrels. The "German" régime was put an end to by a *coup d'état* of the Guards which placed on the throne Elizabeth, only surviving daughter of Peter and Catherine I. Born before wedlock, she had not at first been considered as a serious claimant to the throne, and it was only the exasperation of anti-foreign feeling that clutched at her as a last resource.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW NOBILITY IN POWER

(1741—1796)

IN carrying "the daughter of Peter the Great" to the throne the Guards acted, as it were, as the executive of the whole body of the "nobility." The Empress of their choice did not belie their trust in her, and her reign inaugurated a period when the imperial power was exercised, consciously and explicitly, in the interests of the serving and serf-owning class.

The system of government, at first, differed little from that of the preceding reigns. Russia continued to be governed by a few big men, with small formality and less responsibility. The supreme power was vested in the Senate, with whose administration of home affairs Elizabeth never interfered. The Senate's policy was subordinated to the interests of the nobility. Another institution to safeguard the interests of the nobility was the regiments of the Guards, where even the private soldiers were largely nobles. The Guards intervened only in exceptional cases, but their presence was a constant reminder to the monarch of those whose nominee he was. The nobility were still under the obligation of life service in the army, navy, or civil service, but it was observed with increasing slackness. Since the death of Peter I., peace had prevailed for long spaces of time, and the serving people had at last the opportunity of living on their estates, which before 1725 had been almost exclusively the homes of their womenfolk. The conditional tenure of land having been finally abolished by Peter, the nobles were now complete and absolute masters of their lands and "subjects," as the law called

the serfs. The economic importance of the nobility was also growing. Russia was becoming more and more agricultural. The agricultural produce of the forest-belt, flax and hemp, formed fifty per cent. of the whole Russian export. Agriculture with unpaid labour became lucrative, and instead of being barely supported by their lands and serfs, the nobles began to grow rich. The agricultural colonization of the steppe also proceeded rapidly. The pioneers were the peasants, who settled down on the new lands as "peasants of the crown." But the crown had introduced the practice of making large donations in "inhabited lands" to persons of the nobility it wished to reward. The number of serfs thus increased. The rights of the serf-owners became in practice unlimited. The sale of serfs piecemeal and without land became frequent, though it was never explicitly authorized by law.

The Elizabethan reaction against the Germans did not stem the tide of foreign influence; only now France became its principal source. The reign of Elizabeth saw the birth of a secular Russian literature, the foundation of the first University at Moscow (1757), and the brilliant career of Lomonosov, whose genius was largely wasted in uphill work against uncongenial surroundings.

In foreign relations Elizabeth's ministers at first followed a policy of peace, but ultimately became entangled in the Seven Years' War. It was conducted with extraordinary slackness and inefficiency, though the high fighting qualities of the Russian soldier enabled a worthless general to win a brilliant and fruitless victory over Frederick himself (Kunersdorf, 1759). When Elizabeth died (1761) she was succeeded by her nephew Peter, Duke of Holstein, who hastened to form an alliance with Prussia.

A rude martinet, Peter III. made himself very unpopular with the Guards, who saw dangerous rivals

in his Holsteinian entourage. Conscious of this unpopularity, he issued the famous "Liberty of the Nobility" manifesto, which relieved the nobles from the obligation of service. He also abolished the "secret chancellery," and granted toleration to the Old Believers. The latter measures made him singularly popular with the non-noble classes. But the former failed to propitiate the nobility: it was too obvious and overdue. So before long the Guards intervened, deposed (and afterwards assassinated) Peter and placed on the throne his wife, Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst, who was the mistress at that time of an influential officer of the Guards. She proved an able politician, and her reign (1762-1796) the golden age of the serf-owners.

During the first years of Catherine II.'s reign, her main preoccupation, next to making herself agreeable to the nobility, was to impress favourably advanced European opinion. In this she partly succeeded, and received a handsome share of the flattery of Voltaire. Her first important measure was worthy of a good Voltairian: the confiscation, in 1764, of the estates of the Church. Only one prelate, Arseni Matsievich, Archbishop of Rostov, raised his voice against the spoliation, and had to expiate his crime by solitary confinement for life. Reduced to political nonentity by Peter, the Church thus ceased to exist as a social factor.

Another of Catherine's early measures was still more liberal—the convocation, in 1767, of an elective "Committee of Deputies" for the drafting of a new Civil Code, which was to replace that of 1649. All classes except the serfs were represented on it. Catherine herself wrote an "instruction" for the deputies, full of the most advanced ideas, copied out from the works of Montesquieu and Beccaria, but where the issue of serfdom was carefully camouflaged behind a thick veil of commonplace. The deputies at

first took considerable interest in their work, but the interests of the nobility were irreconcilable with those of the other classes, and the Committee ended in nothing. A few deputies of the nobility were inclined to revive the constitutional plans of 1730, but the great majority were quite content to place their trust in an autocrat who had been put in power by themselves, and whom they trusted not to betray their interests. What they asked was that their authority in their estates might be unlimited, and this in practice, if not quite in theory, it was allowed to become. The estates (especially the larger ones) were, in fact, independent principalities whose only relation to the suzerain state was to see that the serfs paid the poll-tax, and from time to time to deliver recruits to the imperial army.

Like a true *philosophe*, Catherine was all for uniformity and for the levelling of local anomalies. She did away with Ukrainian autonomy, and did everything to discourage the Ukrainians from remembering they were not Muscovites. She destroyed the Zaporogian Syich and curtailed the liberties of the Great Russian Cossacks. In most cases this policy proceeded smoothly, but the attempt to tamper with the liberties of the Yaïk Cossacks led to the Pugachev rebellion (1773-1774), the greatest social upheaval of the Russian lower classes before 1905.

Pugachev, a Don Cossack, gave himself out to be the late Peter III., whose supposed anti-noble tendencies had given him a legendary popularity among the Old Believers (many of the Cossacks belonged to the old faith), and among the lower classes in general. The rebel Cossacks were at once joined by the Moslem Bashkirs of the South Urals and by the miners of the Middle Urals. As soon as serious military forces were sent against them the rebel armies were easily dispersed, but it was only after that that the most interesting part of the rebellion began. Pugachev, at the head of a small band of Cossacks, started on a light-

ning march into the districts of the Middle Volga, a country densely studded with noble-owned estates. On either side of his track the peasants rose, massacring the squires and the officials, the flame of revolt rapidly spreading towards Moscow. It was easily quenched in blood, but it showed what a social volcano Russia was. Its principal effect was further to strengthen the alliance between the nobility and the monarchy, and to dig a deeper gulf between the upper and lower classes.

The years that followed the rebellion were devoted to a systematic reform of the administration. The country was divided into a number of moderate sized provinces, placed under personal and bureaucratic administration, but subdivided into districts, where all the administration was to be carried on by officers elected by the local nobles. Thus the nobility were recompensed for their trust in autocracy. The towns were also given some measure of local administration, but, unlike the corporations of the nobility, the urban guilds could not emerge from a state of dependency on the administration.

Like Peter and Elizabeth before her, Catherine continued, and carried much further, the wholesale distribution of "inhabited lands" to nobles; that is to say, the transformation of free "crown peasants" into serfs. It was this policy that earned Catherine the reputation of a "generous" and "liberal" monarch with the nobility. The lion's share of these grants went, of course, to her lovers, of whom—as is generally known—she had a rapid succession. At least one of them—Potemkin—was a man of some genius, a "second Peter the Great" in the fantastic vastness of his plans, if not in cruel energy. Magnificent and slovenly, imaginative and indolent, kind-hearted and unprincipled, combining a bedrock of Russian character with a brilliant veneer of European culture, Potemkin was the type of a society where, at least for

the great, conditions of almost epic liberty left the individual practically free from all moral inhibition. There was character enough and to spare in the Catherinian men; suffice it to name the great soldier Suvorov, and Derzhavin, the most sublime and barbaric of Russian poets; and, to pass from historical personages to literary types, the old Bagrov of Aksakov's *Family Chronicle*.

The great pride of the ruling class, who continued to form the bulk of the officers' corps, was Catherine's wars and conquests, especially against Turkey and Poland. The net territorial result of the reign was the annexation of all the Russian and Lithuanian provinces of Poland (except Galicia), of Courland, and of the Black Sea coast with the Crimea. The latter brought its full fruit only in the following century, when the economic centre of gravity was shifted from the flax-growing north to the wheat-growing south, and the bulk of the export trade from Riga and Petersburg to Odessa and Novorossiysk.

The partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, and 1795) have often been violently denounced by the Poles and their friends in the West. There can be no doubt that the policy that led up to the partitions, and the forms in which they were perpetrated, were exceedingly odious and cynical, and reeked of the age of Frederick II. It must also be recognized that their annexation to Russia did nothing to improve the state of the White Russian and Ukrainian serfs. Many Polish landlords who had opposed the partitions lost their estates, but they were all distributed to "favourites" and other Russian nobles. Still, the fact remains that not a single Polish-speaking village was annexed, and that in the long run their incorporation in Russia did help to emancipate the West Russian peasants from the secular tyranny of alien serfowners.

The French Revolution found Catherine and the Russian ruling class thoroughly prepared enemies.

But it was too remote for a realistic policy to take much interest in it. The Russian people were yet too innocent of all acquaintance with the West to be affected by it. A few advanced humanitarians among the educated gentry had to expiate in Siberia or in solitary confinement the triumph of the French democracy. But it was left to Catherine's successors to transfer their hostility to the new France to the sphere of military action.

CHAPTER IX

RUSSIA AND EUROPE

(1796—1856)

THE reign of Paul, the son of Peter III., and Catherine (1796-1801), was a kind of transition between the age of the empresses to that of the nineteenth-century emperors. It belongs to the eighteenth century by the continuance of informal and personal administration, and of the practice, continued on an unprecedented scale, of giving away inhabited crown lands to members of the nobility; also by its end at the hands of the Guards. But it introduced new elements that were to be developed in the nineteenth century. The most important of these was the conception of the monarchy, not as a trust of the nobility, but as a sacred kingship placed high above all classes. It was not a return to Muscovite views, but an adaptation of the purely European theory of Right Divine. The Fundamental Law of 1797, which regulated the succession of the throne and gave a permanent constitution to the Imperial Family, thus doing away with the eighteenth-century freedom of king-making, was based on German models. It remained in force till 1917. Closely connected with this is the conception of the

Russian Emperor's mission in Europe as the guardian of the rights of monarchs, which substituted for the "sane national egoism" of the eighteenth century the reactionary idealism of the Sacred Alliance. It found its first expression in Russia's adhesion in 1799 to the anti-French coalition. "Go to the rescue of the kings," were Paul's words to Field-Marshal Suvorov before sending him to Italy. The great soldier's Italian and Swiss campaign had no political results, and only once more showed what a formidable weapon the Russian autocrat had in his army. Paul, however, soon turned out to be mad. The régime of whimsical tyranny and capricious cruelty of his last years made life within his reach so risky a business that the Guards once more intervened, Paul was murdered, and his eldest son, Alexander, ascended the throne.

Alexander I. began his reign (1801-1825) by promising, above all things, to follow the "liberal" policy of his grandmother. It cannot be said that he kept the promise. He discontinued, once and for all, the practice of giving away "inhabited" crown lands. He strengthened and organized the one possible rival of the nobility—the salary-dependent bureaucracy. While Catherine, conscious of owing the throne to the *Russian* nobility (and self-conscious of her foreign origin), favoured them rather than foreigners, Alexander was the most phileuropean of Russian monarchs, and foreigners during his reign infested the army and the diplomatic service, to the great annoyance of the Russians. Lastly, in his foreign policy Alexander was, like his father, inspired, not by "national egoism," but by the idea of his European mission.

The most generally memorable episode of Alexander's reign was the part taken by Russia in the Napoleonic Wars. It was in the interests of the nobility, as exporters of agricultural goods, to preserve friendly relations with their principal customer, England. Alexander's motives, however, when he first

joined the anti-French coalition were not these, but his personal relations with the German Court. The first war (1805) ended in the Battle of Austerlitz, the second (1806-1807) in another smashing defeat (Friedland), and resulted in the Peace of Tilsit, by the terms of which Russia became a satellite of France and undertook to enforce the Continental blockade. In exchange for this Napoleon allowed Russia a free hand against Turkey and Sweden, which led to the annexation of Finland (1809) and Bessarabia (1812). Tilsit was exceedingly unpopular with the nobility. It was a national humiliation, and it badly hit the landowners by depriving them of their market. But it was also in these years that, thanks to the stoppage of British imports, the Russian textile industry was able so to consolidate its position that even the renewal of trade with England a few years later was unable to cripple it. Speransky, a man of low birth, and an ardent admirer of Napoleon, became *de facto* Prime Minister. It was in these years that he carried out his reform of the Russian Civil Service on the French imperial model, and gave it a permanent organization. To the nobility Speransky was thus doubly hateful—as the parvenu in power, and as the symbol of a foreign policy that was ruining them. Under the pressure of their opinion it was difficult to keep alive the “spirit of Tilsit.” By 1811 the tension between Russia and France was near breaking-point. Speransky was exiled to Siberia, and in June, 1812, Napoleon invaded Russia. He made the fatal mistake of crossing the Dnieper instead of consolidating himself in the western provinces, where a numerous Polish, strongly pro-French gentry was in control of the administration. All classes of the Russian nation proved united before the foreigner. The Fire of Moscow gave the “sacred union” a palpable symbol. The “Fabian” wisdom of the Russian commanders, Barclay-de-Tolly and Kutuzov, enabled Russia to win the war without

much fighting. (The one great encounter, Borodino, established a new record of bloodshed, but had no effect on the issue of the campaign.) To continue the struggle with Napoleon on European ground was not justifiable from a Russian point of view. But for the cosmopolitan Alexander the great affair was not Russia, but Europe, and the army, elated by victory, was glad to follow him to Paris. The fruits of victory for Russia were, however, if anything, negative. The annexation of the greater part of Poland proper, with its totally alien population, was a misfortune, and regarded as such by most intelligent contemporaries. But for Alexander, the triumph was unmixed. Never had the prestige of the Russian Emperor stood so high. At the Congress of Vienna he played (and with better success) the part played at Versailles by President Wilson. The Sacred Alliance was a monarchist version of the League of Nations; it was intended to make the world safe for monarchy. The safeguarding of the rights of kings became henceforward the principal pre-occupation of Alexander. He carried his championship of it so far that, contrary to all traditions, he ended by defending the right divine of the Sultan against the Orthodox but insurgent Greeks.

From the purely cultural point of view, the last ten years of Alexander's reign may be regarded as the culminating point of the "Petersburg Period." The nobility had created a culture of its own, strongly coloured by French influence, but vital and vigorous. In architecture Russia was the last country where the great traditions of Renaissance classicism were carried on by really creative artists. Petersburg deserved more than ever its title of "Palmyra of the North," and Moscow emerged from her ashes in more than her former beauty. In letters it was the age of Pushkin—the golden age of poetry, still viewed by Russians as the age of their highest literary achievement. The young generation of the nobility was full of vitality,

ambition, and intellectual vigour. War having ceased to be an opening, they aspired to political activity, and were full of plans for the transformation of Russia into an advanced European commonwealth.

The reality was different. The years 1815-1825 were a period of growing reaction. Arakcheyev, a creature of Paul, an illiterate martinet unanimously hated by the nobility and army, was a sort of Grand Vizier. The army became the main object of reactionary experiment. Conscription ever since Peter had been a heavy burden on the Russian peasant, but before Paul a friendly looseness of discipline had made military service tolerable. Paul and his sons were martinets of the Prussian type who dreamed of transforming the army into a clockwork toy of mechanical soldiers. The wars and the surviving tradition of the Suvorov school had delayed this transformation, but after 1815 it became the order of the day, leading to mutinies which were suppressed with customary cruelty.

At the same time, while the intellectual élite was Voltairian and Benthamite, mystics and fanatics began to prevail at Court. A certain section of the Orthodox clergy, emerging from the broad-Church ideas of the eighteenth century, became a reactionary force, influential at Court, and which worked towards the suppression of all secular culture. (This reaction was in no way connected with the genuine religious revival that was going on in the depths of the Church and is connected with the name of St. Seraphim, and with the "elders" of the Optina Monastery; it only began to be noticed and to have an influence on the educated classes much later.)

The young generation, seeing that there was no opening for merit and that the State was governed by old dotards, dark fanatics, and illiterate drill-masters, formed a secret society for the overthrow of autocracy, of the same type as those that were then being formed all over Europe. It consisted chiefly of

officers of the Guards. Though, unlike the conspiracies of the eighteenth century, this one was inspired by advanced ideas and not by crude self-interest, it was thoroughly class-conscious and distinctly a movement of the nobility. It had also a definite nationalist colouring, and among the main grievances of the conspirators was, together with the rôle played in the army and administration by "Germans," the fact that alien and recently annexed Finland and Poland had been granted liberal constitutions, while the dominating race was ruled by Arakcheyevs.

Dynastic complications came to help the conspirators. When, in 1825, Alexander I. died and his brother Constantine, the heir to the throne, abdicated, Russia was several days without an emperor, until the third brother, Nicolas, made up his mind to recognize Constantine's abdication and ascend the throne. On the day of his ascension (December 14, 1825) the conspirators attempted their coup. It was very badly organized. Only a small number of Guards' units followed them. The rebels were easily defeated. Their trial was conducted under conditions of utmost secrecy and with revolting inquisitorial methods. Five of the "Decembrists" were hanged, the rest exiled to Siberia to work in the mines. The intellectual élite of the nobility was thus deprived of the leadership of its active elements. The Government, on the other hand, lost confidence in the nobility, and adopted a policy of absolute secrecy and complete isolation from all sections of society. Nicolas I.'s reign is the zenith of the bureaucratic system in Russia. Its first days saw the institution of a new body of secret police—the Corps of Gendarmes, whose head was the Emperor's most intimate friend, and which became the most real and omnipresent force in the country. The gendarmes saw to it that no one spoke, thought, or wrote against the established order; they did their work of suppression conscientiously (they were, perhaps, the only

incorruptible branch of the administration) and efficiently. The Corps survived till 1917.

Though an all-round and thorough reactionary, Nicolas was an honest man, who took his obligations seriously. Thus, having once sworn to observe the Polish Constitution, he tried conscientiously to observe it, but the *ménage* was incompatible. In 1830, at the signal of the French and Belgian revolution, the Poles rose in arms. After a somewhat long-drawn-out war they were defeated and their constitution abrogated. Nicolas' foreign policy was dominated by the idea, inherited from his father and brother, that the Russian Emperor's principal duty was to defend the rights of kings from the rising tide of liberalism; but also by the dream, inherited from his grandmother, of reducing the Turk. The Turkish War of 1828-1829 left Russia in occupation of the Danubian principalities, and was followed in 1833 by a treaty under which Turkey virtually became a Russian protectorate. The treaty had to be annulled in 1841, under Western pressure, but Russia came to be credited with an unlimited appetite for expansion and viewed with universal mistrust. Besides, she was the avowed enemy of all liberal aspirations, the "gendarme of Europe." The Russian people seemed an unresisting and obedient material for soldiering. The Russian army answered to any two-power standard. Inside, the surface seemed unruffled by the slightest ripple of opposition. The power of the Northern Colossus seemed unlimited. Yet there were flaws in it. A careful military student could not fail to remark that the great army was not as effective as it was numerous. Russia took no part in the technical and economic progress of the "early railway age." The equipment of the army and the navy were out of date. By 1853 there were only two railways, from Petersburg to Moscow and from Warsaw to the Austrian frontier. Metalled roads were few, and,

in the south and east non-existent. The financial situation was sound; but industrial and economical progress was hampered, on the one hand by the system of privilege which made the merchants a socially inferior class, on the other by the bureaucratic secrecy and red tape which had become the fundamental law of the land. On the lower rungs of the bureaucratic ladder there ruled another universal law of the land—corruption. No one who had anything to do with the provincial administration and law-courts was allowed to ignore that to get anything done one had to pay.

The rottenness of the political fabric was realized by most Russians, not least by Nicolas himself. Everyone also saw that as long as serfdom was left alone no serious change could be expected. Nicolas and his ministers were concerned with the issue, but they did their best to conceal their concern, and the censorship had strict orders to prevent the discussion of this most vital social problem. The Government were afraid that the least alleviation of his serfdom would induce the peasant to believe all authority abolished and himself free to wallow in anarchy. So nothing was done for the serfs. But though the most numerous, the serfs were not the only class of peasants. In the central and western provinces they constituted more than half of the aggregate peasant population, but in the north and east (except for the Ural miners) and in Siberia there were no serfs at all. The non-serf peasants were either "crown-peasants" or peasants of the Imperial Family. The only important social reform of Nicolas' reign was the organization of these two classes of peasants. They were granted a rudimentary self-administration—under bureaucratic supervision, of course—which became, in the next reign, the model for the whole organization of the emancipated serfs.

In the meantime the educated classes were under-

going a transformation. A new intelligentsia was growing up, recruited partly from the educated nobility, partly from the sons of doctors, minor officials, priests, etc. Its principal matrix was the University of Moscow. There had been a continually brilliant literary production ever since about 1820, but towards 1845 the literature of the new intelligentsia began to aspire to social leadership. In spite of the censorship, it succeeded in holding before an ever-growing audience some of the most vital, social, and cultural problems of the day. Its right wing, the Slavophiles, more closely connected with the nobility, advocated a return to the true national tradition, which they found in Muscovy, and to the true ideal of Orthodoxy. The left wing, the Westernizers, believed only in rational progress on Western lines. The two wings were divided on first principles rather than on practical issues, where they were almost entirely at one: both demanded the abolition of serfdom, the liberty of the Press, the cessation of bureaucratic and judicial secrecy. The revolution of 1848 drove the Government into a frenzy of reaction which silenced the Slavophil and Westernizing Press. But the opposition grew in silence, and when Nicolas' régime collapsed, the whole educated class was found to be on the side of the new ideas.

The collapse came as the result of the Crimean War, declared on Russia in 1854 by England and France, who were provoked by a new attempt of Nicolas to extend his authority in Turkey. Once again the Russian soldiers and officers fought heroically, but the generalship was incompetent, the Russian musket had a fraction of the range of the Allies' rifle, the rear was roadless. The fall of Sevastopol (August, 1855) decided the fate of the war. By the peace of Paris (1856) Russia renounced the right to have a fleet in the Black Sea, or to fortify its coasts. In the midst of the debacle Nicolas

had died (February, 1855). His son, Alexander II., ascended the throne, and his reign opens a new era.

The expansion of Russia under the Petersburg Emperors was, in accordance with their European orientation, mainly westward. The annexed western lands remained as a rule un-Russianized, and received considerable privileges. Finland was virtually a "dominion" ruled by Finlanders with no admixture of Russians. The Polish Constitution was abrogated in 1831, but Poland continued to remain a separate political unit, administered mainly by Poles. Lithuania, White Russia, and Western Ukraina, were (up to 1831) entirely controlled by the local Polish nobility; the Baltic provinces by the German barons, whose privileges were particularly extensive, and whose loyalty was a mainstay of the dynasty. In all these lands, Swedish, Polish, and German were respectively the official languages to the exclusion of Russian. Theophile policy of Catherine II. and Alexander I. went so far as to invite German and Swiss settlers into the virgin lands of the south-east and south, granting them a first choice of land, large holdings, complete communal autonomy, exemption from taxes for long periods, and even, in some cases, permanent exemption from military service. Of all the western subjects of Russia the Jews alone were treated as pariahs. They were penned up in the towns and townlets of former Poland without the right to settle elsewhere, and debarred from all civil rights.

The eastward extension of the empire from the time of Peter to that of Alexander II. was limited to the extension of Russian authority over the Kirghiz hordes between the Yaïk and the Irtysh and to the annexation, in the last years of Nicolas I., of the Amur valley and of the Ussuri coast of the Pacific. The main episode of the southward advance was, after the annexation of the Crimea, the long and

arduous conquest of the Caucasus. It began by the voluntary adhesion of Georgia in 1800, followed by that of the smaller Georgian States on the Black Sea, and the conquest, from Persia, of Azerbaijan and lower Armenia. The Georgian nobility were given the privileges of the Russian nobility, but unlike the western provinces Georgia retained no autonomy, was placed under bureaucratic administration, and the Georgian language deprived of official status.

Between Georgia and Russia lay the mountain barrier of the Caucasus, inhabited by warlike Moslem tribes. Some of them were subdued by political measures, but the Circassians (Adighé) in the west, and the Lesghians and Chechens in the east offered a determined resistance. The former had the constant secret support of Turkey, the latter found a great religious and military leader in the Imam Shamil, who proclaimed a Holy War against the Russians, and for twenty-five years frustrated all attempts to overcome him. It was not till 1864 that the Caucasus was finally pacified.

CHAPTER X

TRANSFORMATION

(1856—1917)

THE years that followed the end of the Crimean War are known as the "era of great reforms," and mark the first great step in the transformation of the class-constructed Russia of Catherine, Alexander I., and Nicolas I., into a modern bourgeois, capitalist, and liberal state—a transformation that met with frequent set-backs, and was not destined ever to become complete.

The first of the "great reforms" was the emancipation of the serfs. The attitude of the serfowning

class on the issue was divided. The growth of the grain export had made farming with unpaid labour increasingly profitable in all the agricultural belt. But in other parts of the country serfdom was beginning to be recognized as uneconomical. So a large section of the nobility were prepared to accept its abolition, while the new intelligentsia, whether Slavophil or Westernist, were unanimously pledged to emancipation. It was chiefly under the influence of a group of young Slavophil bureaucrats that the emancipation was actually carried out. The act was promulgated on February 19, 1861. Its main points were as follows: The emancipation was complete, the landowners retaining no economic or administrative authority over their former serfs, except for a short transitional period; the owners were given no compensation for the persons of the serfs; their emancipation was accompanied by the compulsory alienation of the land previously held by the peasants under their landlords. The latter were to be compensated by the State, but the peasants were to repay the sum to the Treasury by deferred instalments. The land, in practice, thus obtained by the peasants was considerably less than what they had held as serfs. The woods and pastures remained for the most part unalienated. In the more densely populated central and western provinces the new holdings were obviously insufficient, and the transformation of the peasants into a semi-proletariat began almost at once. It was one of the principal tenets of the Slavophiles that the peasants should not be allowed to be proletarianized. To secure this end, the land transferred to them did not become their individual property, but that of the rural commune, which was to provide for the equal and periodically renewed distribution of the land between all adult males. The rural commune is not an "Old Slavonic" or prehistoric institution, but owes its origin mainly to the action of the serfowners

on their estates and of the administration on the crown lands, pursuing fiscal purposes: a main feature of the commune was that it was collectively answerable for the taxes of each of its members. The emancipated peasants were not assimilated with the rest of the population, but were to remain a legally distinct class, with incomplete civil rights, and subject, not to the general civil law of the country, but to their own customary law, itself like the commune, a product of serfdom times. The result was that the emancipation did not break down the existing class barriers, and the peasants continued to be legally and socially isolated from the rest of the population, as much as they had been under serfdom; in the case of the former crown peasants the isolation was even increased.

Still, the emancipation was a symbolical act, which started the other reforms going. They followed in rapid succession. New law-courts were instituted with public procedure, and, in criminal matters, trial by jury. Local self-government (*zemstvo*) was introduced, with extensive rights of taxation. It was based on an unequal franchise, but without any privileges for the nobility, and with inclusion of the peasants. Urban self-government was reformed and extended. Conscription, which hitherto had been the burden of the "poll-tax-paying" classes only, was extended to all classes.

The economic transformation was equally rapid. Foreign capital was attracted. Joint-stock companies were founded, and railways constructed. An important element in the new order was the Jews from whose ranks many of the new capitalists came. The Jews were given access to the schools and to the liberal professions, and in less than a generation a new class of quite Russianized Jewish intelligentsia came into being.

The liberal spirit of the new reign was extended

to the western dependencies. Finland was more than ever content with her Russian sovereign. But in Poland the concessions made were insufficient, and only proved the prelude to a new rebellion (1863). It was not a popular movement, being limited to the gentry and clergy, but precisely this enabled it to spread over all the formerly Polish provinces. It was suppressed with cruelty and not without difficulty. The suppression was followed by the abolition of Poland's status as a theoretically distinct kingdom, and the introduction of Russian as the language of the schools and administration; but also by reforms calculated to reduce the influence of the nobility and clergy and to favour the peasants and the urban classes.

The Polish rebellion provided admirable manure for the growth of Russian Nationalism, which henceforward became a dominating influence on public opinion and on the Government. It was also kept strong by the successes of Russia in the East, where the conquest of the Caucasus was followed by that of Turkestan (1864-1881).

The chief field for Russian nationalism, fed as it was by Slavophil doctrine, was the Balkans. When the Serbs began their war against Turkey, and the Bulgarian atrocities moved the world, the nationalists raised a clamour for intervention, and at last obtained it. In 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey, which, but for Disraeli's threat of British intervention, would have ended in the taking of Constantinople. The peace conference of Berlin, where the Russian diplomats proved no match for Disraeli, was a rude deception for Russian nationalism and was received by them as a national humiliation. But there were even more dangerous enemies at home.

The revolutionary movement, developing out of the left wing of the Westernizers, from the outset adopted Socialism for its banner. In the sixties it

won numerous adherents among the younger generation of the intelligentsia. Hostile to all the political and cultural traditions of the State, they concentrated their attention on the righting of social wrongs. Soon after 1870 hundreds of young men and girls, the flower of the generation, began a campaign of non-political Socialist propaganda among the peasants. It met with no success: the social and cultural gulf between gentry and people was still too great. Many of the propagandists were delivered to the police by the peasants. Disillusioned by the results of the campaign, the Socialists came to the conclusion that no social progress was possible under present political conditions and that their first aim should be the overthrow of Autocracy. They formed a fighting organization, *The People's Will*, which started a campaign of terror against the Government, and concentrated their efforts on the life of the Emperor himself. The Government started a counter campaign of extermination, trying at the same time to win over the Liberals by holding out promises of constitutional reform. On March 1, 1881, the terrorists at last succeeded in assassinating Alexander II. The "constitutional plan" was immediately given up by his successor, and a reign of reaction began with the hearty support of the propertied classes. In one thing, however, the terrorists had succeeded: up to Alexander II. the Russian Emperors had lived openly, freely, and constantly showing themselves in public, entering into almost personal relations with the populace, at least in Petersburg. After March 1 the Romanovs shut themselves in from the outer world, never went out without extensive police precautions, lived in their palaces as in prisons. The effect of this change was a slackening of the ties of personal loyalty, and a fall in the general interest in the Tsar.

The reign of Alexander III. (1881-1894) was a period of all-round reaction. The police received extended

powers to liquidate the revolutionary movement, and Siberia was peopled with Socialists. The bureaucratic element was everywhere strengthened; the independence of the law-courts and of the universities abolished; a series of counter-reforms carried out which were calculated to increase the legal and social gulf between the peasants and the rest of the population, and to revive and increase the privileges of the nobility. At the same time the nationalist policy inaugurated under Alexander II. was carried to new lengths. The Jews suffered most from this reaction. The first pogroms took place about 1881, with the obvious connivance of the police. They were submitted to increased legal limitations. The result was, on the one hand, the mass emigration of Russian Jews to America, on the other the practically wholesale adhesion of their younger generation to revolutionary Socialism. A particularly odious aspect of the reaction was the use to which the Orthodox Church, while being finally deprived of all independence, was put as an instrument of the police and of nationalist aggression. All this policy was continued, and even aggravated after the death of Alexander III., by his successor, Nicolas II. (1894-1917). It was in the first years of his reign that Finland, which had been conspicuously loyal ever since her annexation, was submitted to exceedingly vexatious measures tending towards her political assimilation with Russia, and was thus converted into an even more resolute and implacable enemy of Russia and the Russians than the hereditary enemy, Poland.

Except in the case of the Jews, the nationalist policy struck chiefly at the old privileged groups of the western provinces—Poles, Germans, and Swedes. At the same time, partly favoured by this very policy, a national awakening was taking place among the lower classes of the same territories. In Poland, and Finland it only strengthened the old local nationalism, but in

Lithuania and the Baltic provinces it brought into the political field new nationalities—the Lithuanians, Letts, and Estonians, who had hitherto been a voiceless peasantry, invisible under the rule of their German and Polish masters. A similar democratic nationalism began to grow also in Georgia. From the outset these national movements were marked by the close co-operation of the intelligentsia with the peasantry, while in Russia the gulf between "gentry" and "people" still remained unbridged. Ukrainian nationalism, whose rise was more or less contemporary with these movements, was, unlike them, a purely intelligentsia movement, and scarcely affected the peasant masses.

The emancipation of the peasants, far from solving the "peasant question," created conditions that made it increasingly insistent. The rapid growth of the peasant population soon made it obvious how insufficient were the holdings obtained by them in 1861. In the greater part of the country the peasants could not subsist on them, and were rapidly converted into a "semi-proletariat." The earnings of the Central Russian peasant from his land were so small that, in spite of the low level of wages, the returning industrial workman became the aristocrat of the village. On the other hand, the peasant was prevented by law from selling his holding and becoming a full proletarian. Social unrest and the hope for a new partition of lands became the dominant feeling of the peasants of Central and Western Russia. To the Government, increasingly dominated by the interests of the nobility, agrarian reform was taboo. The only remedy was thus emigration, which in the last decades of the nineteenth century began to assume gigantic proportions. At first the South-East and the North Caucasian Steppe, afterwards Siberia and the Kirghiz Steppe, received millions of immigrants. Immigration to Siberia was facilitated by the building of the Great Siberian Trunk

Line (begun 1891). It was to continue unabated till the outbreak of the Great War.

The last decade of the century saw a new wave of capitalistic advance. It is indissolubly connected with the name of Witte, Minister of Finance from 1892 to 1903, who adopted a policy of industrial protection by tariff, guarantee, and subsidy. Much foreign capital (chiefly French and Belgian) was attracted. New railways were built. The south of Russia, from the Donets coalfield to the iron-mines of Krivoy-Rog, was transformed into a great industrial area. One of the principal results of this industrial boom was a great rise in the numbers of the industrial proletariat.

The revolutionary movement, almost stamped out in the eighties, began to revive about 1892, largely under the impression of the great famine of that year. The revolutionaries formed two parties, which shared between them practically the whole younger generation of the intelligentsia—the Socialist Revolutionaries (S.-R.'s) and the Social Democrats. The former continued the tradition of the Socialists of the seventies, made land nationalization the centre of their programme, and aspired to become the champions of the peasants. They remained, however, a purely intelligentsia party. Their principal work consisted in terroristic acts. The Social Democrats discarded the Russian Socialist tradition, recognized Marx as their authority, and regarded the industrial proletariat as the only real revolutionary class. They soon became divided into two "fractions," the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, the latter being separated from the former mainly by their more definite attitude to the peasants as a desirable ally in the coming revolution. From the outset their leader was Vladimir Ulianov, who signed his articles in the name of N. Lenin. The two "fractions," however, acted in most points in full accord. Unlike the S.-R.s, the Social Democrats were able to take solid root in the industrial proletariat. The

labour movement, which found expression in strikes, had begun in the nineties apart from their influence, and led the Government to some rather rudimentary labour legislation. But by 1905 the Russian proletariat was thoroughly won over to the Social Democrat party, and formed the most class-conscious and formidable social group in the country. Parallel to the revolutionary movement a Liberal opposition grew up in the nineties, supported by the professional classes and the Liberal wing of the nobility and *zemstvos*. Rather tame at first, by 1903 it had adopted almost revolutionary methods, and openly applauded the terroristic acts of the S.-R.'s

The reign of Alexander III. had been peaceful and fortified the international prestige of Russia. But Nicolas II. plunged Russia into a policy of imperialistic adventure in the Far East. By 1903, Russia was in occupation of Manchuria, possessed two ports on the Yellow Sea, and was trying to gain a footing in Korea. Japan, who had been thwarted by Russia in her first attempts at expansion, viewed this Russian advance with increasing jealousy, and in January, 1904, declared war. As in 1854, Russia, though consistently provoking war, was not ready for war. The tactical equipment of the Russian army was below that of the Japanese, and the Russian generalship was poor. The Siberian Trunk was ready, but conducting war at the end of a single rail-line of 6,000 miles was a difficult task. The railway did splendid work, but proved insufficient. The country took no interest in a war started against its wishes. Defeat followed defeat, culminating in the Battle of Mukden and in the naval disaster of Tsushima (February and May, 1905). The Russian Government had to ask for peace, which was concluded at Portsmouth, N.H. (September, 1905), and, owing to the diplomatic skill of the Russian plenipotentiary, Witte, proved less disadvantageous than might have been expected.

Impressed by the successes of the terrorists at home, and the growing discontent with the war, Nicolas II. had appointed, in September, 1904, a Liberal administration which began by making certain concessions to public opinion, but whose further advice was not accepted. The measure of liberty granted to the Press and corporate bodies at once disclosed a degree of discontent that could not be stifled by half measures. The Liberal agitation turned into a state of revolution after the massacre by the troops of a crowd of Petersburg workmen who tried to approach the Emperor with a petition (January 9, 1905). The rising tide of revolution found its expression at first in the multiplication of terroristic acts, which were known to produce their effect on the Government: the assassination of a notoriously reactionary Grand Duke was almost immediately followed by a manifesto promising the convocation of an elected Parliament. But the law which, a few months later, embodied the promise, proved insufficient. The summer and autumn of 1905 produced a succession of strikes, mutinies in the navy, agrarian disorders which made many country districts uninhabitable for the squires, and systematic terror against the police and administration. At last, in October, a general strike was declared. It had the support of all Liberal as well as Socialist opinion, and was carried out with remarkable completeness. The Government gave in. Count Witte, the only statesman who appeared likely to conciliate at least the moderate Liberals, was called to power, and a manifesto was issued, in which the Emperor announced that henceforward no measure was to become law without the approval of the representatives of the people (October 17, 1905).

The middle classes were appeased and began to prepare for the elections. But the revolutionary parties, the workmen, and the peasants did not lay down their arms. The strike was called off, but in many towns.

the Workmen's Soviets were better obeyed than the official authorities, and in the country districts the agrarian movement continued unsuppressed. The demobilized army in the Far East, held up by strikes, was out of hand, and local "republics" sprang up along the whole length of the Siberian Trunk. The Black Sea Fleet mutinied. Most of the army units were unreliable. At last the workmen of Moscow, organized by the Social Democrats, began an armed insurrection. But this proved the turning-point. One of the few reliable regiments of the Guards was sent to Moscow, and after ten days' fighting on the barricades the insurgents were defeated (December, 1905). After this victory the suppression was conducted throughout the country with ruthless cruelty and rapid success. The revolution was over; in the ensuing struggle with the Duma (as the new Parliament was called) the Government stood on firmer ground.

The election law was based on an unequal but practically universal franchise, which assured the strong representation of the peasants. As the Socialist parties boycotted the elections, the Liberal (so-called "Cadet") party obtained a majority, but some 150 peasant members formed a "Labour Group" with a Socialist programme. The Duma met on April 27, 1906. It began by demanding a general amnesty and agrarian reform on the basis of the compulsory alienation of the larger estates. The Government was decided not to yield on these points. A deadlock ensued, and after a few weeks' session the Duma was dissolved. The deputies assembled in Viborg (Finland) and issued a proclamation calling on the people to refuse taxes and recruits. The proclamation had no effect; the revolutionary impetus was spent. But the general elections resulted in a new victory for the opposition; the country was tired by the struggle, but unreconciled. The Socialists obtained two-fifths of the seats, the Cadets returned in diminished numbers.

The casting vote between the two belonged to the forty Polish members, who always voted as one man. Once again no co-operation was possible with the Government, which was now headed by the able and resolute bureaucrat, Stolypin. The second Duma was not much longer lived than the first. It was dissolved in June, 1907. Realizing that a new election under the same law would again result in a victory of the opposition, Stolypin followed the dissolution by a counter-revolutionary change of the electoral law: the large landowners were given a clear majority in the electoral colleges, the urban representation was curtailed, and that of the Polish, Caucasian, and Mussulman provinces, and of the hopelessly democratic Siberia, reduced to nominal proportions. The second phase of the revolutionary struggle ended thus in a second victory for the Government and for the reactionary forces behind it.

After this counter-reform the majority in the Duma belonged to the moderately conservative landowners, who were ready to support the policy of Stolypin. Stolypin was in favour of preserving the Duma and conciliating its very docile majority, but at Court and among the right wing of the Duma itself there was a strong tendency to regard the Constitution as nil. The word "constitution," in fact, had never been pronounced, and the legislative rights of the chambers were rather narrow; the fundamental laws, the Imperial Family, the civil list, the army and the navy and foreign policy were beyond their competency. Certain parts of the Budget were "armoured"—that is to say, could not be reduced below the figures of 1906. The Crown retained the right to legislate between sessions, and Stolypin had availed himself of it between the first and second Dumas to carry out the measure that gave the keynote to his social policy. This was the Act of November, 1906, enabling individual peasants to sever their connection with their

commune, by turning their share of land into individual freeholds. Thus Stolypin, and the landowners who supported him, hoped to transform the more prosperous peasants into a class of conservative farmers, while ridding the countryside of its semi-proletarian elements. He called this policy "backing the strong man." It was an attempt to allow free play to the economic forces that worked towards the differentiation of the peasant class. In some districts many peasants availed themselves of the new law, but on the whole the economic character of the Russian peasant class remained unchanged, and nationalization of the large estates remained their one desire.

Though a period of political reaction, the years 1907-1914 were also one of unprecedented economic prosperity and progress. This was specially apparent in the south, where the beet-sugar industry and the wheat export flourished as never before, and in Siberia, which was being rapidly opened up by continuous immigration (encouraged by the Government as a safety-valve to the land problem) and by private and co-operative commercial enterprises. A district whose commercial development was on a particularly "American" scale was Turkestan, which was turned in a few years into a great cotton-producing area.

The new bourgeoisie, whose economic importance was thus daily increasing, had no political traditions, and no personal ties with the monarchy or the administration. Their political influence was small; they were ready to support the monarchy if it followed a sane economic policy, but they had little confidence in it and no objections to a republic. They were hostile to Socialism, but by no means adverse to letting the peasants have the land. The intelligentsia, also influenced by the economic boom, was being gradually won over to imperialism; but the Socialist parties remained strong and compact. The working class was a solid block of Social Democrats. A new class of

"semi-intelligentsia" — clerks, engineers, medical assistants—had grown up, and formed an important link between the educated classes and the people. They were almost all Socialists, and it was through their agency that the lower classes were being more and more won over to political Socialism.

In respect of the non-Russian population, the policy of Stolypin and his successors was a nationalism that went further than anything ever attempted by Alexander III. Finland in particular was goaded into such a state of hostility that when the war broke out its best patriots joined the German army as volunteers. All the nationalities were more or less thwarted in their legitimate aspirations, and their opposition grew with the growth of the nationalist policy of the Government. But except in Poland and Finland, political separatism was not countenanced by the responsible political leaders of the nationalities. The economic advantages of belonging to the great Russian organism were too keenly felt, and if the Russian Government was the embodiment of reaction, the Russian Socialists stood out as the truest champions of progress.

In foreign policy the period 1907-1914 is marked by a great wave of imperialism, which found whole-hearted support in the majority of the Duma and among the new, national-Liberal formation of the intelligentsia. Almost on all sides Russia's policy became, if not explicitly, at least latently, aggressive. If the establishment of a virtual protectorate over Mongolia (1913) was in accordance with geographical realities and the interests of the Mongolian people, in Persia Russian aggression assumed particularly odious forms; a convention was signed with England dividing that country into "spheres of influence," and Russian political and economic penetration proceeded along the approved lines of Western imperialism.

In the West, Russian diplomacy, after the *entente* with England (1907), pursued a policy of flouting

Germany and Austria, and of encouraging the Slavs. The annexation of Galicia and of Constantinople became the main article of faith of the bourgeois parties that upheld the Government. The army was increased, its tactical training greatly improved, and a programme adopted for the construction of Dreadnoughts. The Duma majority was even more eager and forward in adopting all these measures than the Government itself. But the efficiency of the diplomatic service was not equal to the policy pursued. In 1913, for instance, it made the disastrous blunder of backing Serbia against Bulgaria, and thus alienating the only Slavonic nation whose cultural ties with Russia were real, and not merely an ethnological fiction. Nor can it be affirmed that the persons responsible for Russia's foreign policy clearly realized that they were making the war each day more inevitable.

When the war broke out it found Russia better prepared, from the purely military point of view, than she had been in 1904, or, in fact, at the outbreak of any preceding great war. But the enemy was also a more formidable one than ever before, and economically and administratively Russia was no match to the great leviathans of Western imperialism. The bureaucracy was well used to claiming control over all branches of national activity, and consequently had no difficulty in adopting the new war-time mentality with its pseudo-Socialism and complete subjection of all sides of life to the ends of the war. But Russia was neither economically prepared to become a centralized machine for modern war, nor the Government capable of running it. The upper classes at first accepted the war with enthusiasm (which, except in the case of families with military traditions, was not accompanied by any readiness for self-sacrifice), did not grumble at the dissolution of the Duma, and heartily joined in the official campaign of

baiting the "interior" Germans and the Jews. But under the influence of the tremendous reverses of 1915 they grew uneasy and began to demand responsible government. They obtained at first a few concessions, but when the German advance was stopped the policy of reconciliation was discontinued. The Government had no confidence in the administrative qualities of the upper classes, and these definitely assumed an attitude of opposition. At the same time the imperial household began to emancipate itself from the Government. The Empress Alexandra, obsessed by the idea of the right divine of the autocrat, urged her husband to display his autocracy with more energy. Both the Emperor and Empress were totally incompetent persons, and were easily influenced by various sinister personages, first of whom was the Siberian hypnotist, Rasputin, whom they regarded as a saint. In these conditions their personal policy, opposed by all more or less sensible and responsible members of the bureaucracy, soon began to verge on insanity. The upper classes were terrified and began to consider the possibility of a *coup d'état*. The murder of Rasputin by two members of the imperial family (December, 1916) gave enormous publicity to the private life of the Emperor and Empress, which became the object of widespread and poisonous scandal. The upper classes, in their propaganda against Nicolas and Alexandra, insisted on the disastrous effect of their personal policy on the war. Rumours were spread (perfectly false) that the Empress was a pro-German. It was necessary, the patriots affirmed, to eliminate the imperial couple in order that the war might be continued with better efficiency and to a victorious end. But the anti-dynastic propaganda spread far beyond the upper classes. The people, heartily sick of the war and heartily sick of the administration whose power of oppression the war had greatly increased, irritated by the economic mismanagement which

brought the large towns to the brink of famine, were also ready to throw down the Romanovs—not to continue, but to stop the war. Petersburg (like all the larger towns) contained an immense garrison of army depôts, which represented the bitter but vague and undirected discontent of the rural classes. But the workmen of Petersburg, politically, perhaps, the most conscious and determined group in Russia, knew very well what they wanted if they were to make a revolution. When in February, 1917, the shortage of food led to street disorders in the capital, the disorders soon became a revolution, and on February 27 a Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies was set up, with a definitely Socialist platform. On the same day the Duma formed an Executive Committee to counteract the influence of the Soviet, and the Committee proclaimed itself the supreme power. The Government forces in Petersburg were easily overcome by the mob and the depôt regiments, and on March 2, 1917, Nicolas II., under the pressure of the Duma, abdicated.

The Provisional Government set up by the Duma, and recognized by the Soviet, attempted to realize the political programme of the bourgeoisie and to continue the war "to a victorious end." But with the fall of the monarchy all authority collapsed throughout the country and army. The Government could only pronounce speeches that were powerless to charm the revolutionary people into obedience. The bourgeois Government was replaced by a Government of Right-wing Socialists, who also failed to recognize that what the people demanded was peace and a new social order. The revolution moved rapidly towards its logical end. The Left-wing Socialists, the Bolsheviks, the only party who promised the people what they wanted, were also the only party led by men who understood the nature of revolutionary government. On October 25, with the support of the organized

workmen of Petersburg and of the Baltic Fleet, they deposed the Provisional Government and proclaimed a Socialist Soviet Republic.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

THE Revolution of February-October, 1917, will probably stand out as by far the most critical turning point in the whole history of Russia. Its ultimate significance cannot yet be gauged to the full, nor is it limited to Russia and Eurasia only: in the history of the world its importance is at least equal to that of the French Revolution. It would not be profitable to rehearse here in a few lines the sequence of events that followed the victory of the Bolsheviki, or the details of their constructive work since their final victory over the counter-revolutionary movements. It is as yet difficult to see these details in the right perspective, as related to the preceding eleven centuries of Russian history. But some results stand out already with sufficient clearness. The first, most obvious and most important, is that the social pyramid of which the Russian people were for long centuries the passive foundation has collapsed and been cleared away, and for the first time in history the Russian working classes are masters of themselves, and have no social superiors. The victory of social Democracy has not been accompanied by the establishment of democratic liberties, and the political power resides in the Communist Party. In practice, it is the dictatorship of a minority, but a minority which is not a socially distinct upper class, and which keeps the people constantly awake for political action by the stimulant of ceaseless propaganda and by the machinery of Soviet

elections. Whatever may happen in the future, the Russian working-classes are not likely again to submit to the existence of a social oligarchy fundamentally different from themselves, and whatever may be the fate reserved for the Communist Party, the Soviet system introduced by them is likely to remain the skeleton of any future Russian polity.

A second obvious fact is the emancipation of the nationalities. The Great-Russian people, though the leader and principal agent of the Revolution, has renounced the policy of national coercion and assimilation pursued by its former rulers, and has recognized in the other peoples of Eurasia equal associates, linked together by a common social and cultural ideal. The two other Russian nationalities, Ukrainian and White Russian, the numerous Turkish, Mongol, Finno-Ugrian and Caucasian peoples of the former empire, the ex-territorial Jews themselves, have become the equal members of a free Union of Nations. The change of the name of Russia into that of USSR (Union of Socialist Soviet Republics) symbolizes the transformation of a national empire into a super-national federation.

Thirdly, the centre of the Russian community of nations has shifted from west to east, and from the seas to the interior of the Continent. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, have reverted, as it was only right that they should revert, to their original European family; while Khiva and Bokhara have been included in the Union, and Mongolia gravitates towards it. The continental Moscow has once more become the capital of its continent.

Lastly, though the doctrine that inspired the Communists is ultimately a product of European civilization, in practice it has assumed new and un-European forms, never dreamed of by Marx. It has erected a new barrier between Russia and Europe, between the Soviet Union and the bourgeois democracies of the

West. More than ever Russia has become a continent apart, with a civilization hostile in spirit to that of the countries that for two centuries were her cultural model. She has recovered her cultural autonomy, and her separation from the West is one of the most potent factors contributing to reduce the relative importance in the world of Western civilization.

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A HISTORY OF ITALY

By MRS. G. M. TREVELYAN

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A HISTORY OF ITALY

CHAPTER I

FROM THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS TO THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE

THE people of Modern Italy, alone among European nations, have behind them the tradition of a system of government that once dominated the world. They have emerged by direct descent from Ancient Rome, but in the welter of race invasions which followed each other in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. the continuity of their civic life was broken, the forms of Roman government gave way and the native Italian stock throughout the land became mixed by intermarriage with the ruder barbarian races. Yet, for all that, the Italian of to-day looks back to the rulers of the Capitol and the Palatine as his forefathers, while Spaniard, Briton, Frenchman, German, and Russian look to a shadowy past wherein the warring tribes grope ever backward towards the nameless life of forest and clearing, snow and steppe. Italy alone has the great background, and it affects her history down to the present day. How the old life of Roman Italy was apparently submerged under barbarian waves, but survived in the Roman Church and in the thousand half-conscious memories of an urban population; how it took new forms in the City States of the Middle Ages and burst into conscious pride once more in the Classical Renaissance; how contact with the stronger nations of Modern Europe subjected it again to conquest from without, until in the fulness of time a true Italian nationality emerged from the kneading of Napoleon; this and much more goes to make the History of Italy. If only the barest sketch of such a story can be attempted in the present outline, it

may at least serve to introduce the reader to a subject that yields to none in wealth and fascination of detail.

Throughout the fourth century A.D., the machinery of the overgrown Roman Empire still functioned, in spite of inward decay and outward pressure, owing to the reorganisation it had undergone at the hands of the Emperors Diocletian and Constantine. These two had effected the first sub-division of the Imperial territories among a varying number of "Cæsars" and "Augusti," and had fixed their own residence at Byzantium or Constantinople, as it was named in honour of the first Christian Emperor. It was from here that the barbarian danger, both from north and east, could best be met, and it was hither that the Goths, long uneasily settled in Trajan's province of Dacia beyond the Danube, directed their first overwhelming attack. In 378 they defeated and killed the Emperor Valens at the Battle of Adrianople. Constantinople was barely saved by the good soldier Theodosius, who adopted the policy of drafting the barbarians into the Imperial armies as *fœderati*, and so long as Theodosius lived he could master his Gothic and Frankish chiefs, and set them to guard the frontiers under Roman military titles. But on his death in 395 the Empire of the world passed into the hands of his two feeble sons, Arcadius in the East, Honorius in the West; and Italy, which had remained so long inviolate, found herself exposed at last to the full weight of the barbarian attack.

It came first from the Visigoths, encamped for the last twenty years in Illyricum under their chieftain Alaric, whom Theodosius had tamed to Roman ways, but who, stung to anger by Honorius' faithless dealings with him, invaded Italy in 408 and marched unopposed to Rome. The trembling Senate bought him off with the famous ransom—5,000 lbs. of gold, 30,000 lbs. of silver, 3,000 scarlet hides, 4,000 silken tunics, and 3,000 lbs. of pepper. But the danger was only half averted, for Alaric was bent on securing

recognition and a settlement from Honorius, who cowered securely in the watery stronghold he had made at Ravenna and refused all terms. A second time Alaric returned to Rome and set up a puppet Emperor; finally, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 410, the Gothic host broke in. It was the first time that the holy city had been sacked since the descent of Brennus with his Gauls, and although Alaric allowed his men only three days for plunder, the efficacy of their search was attested by the long lines of loaded waggons that followed the conquerors along the Appian Way as they marched south towards Sicily. But the Church saw the avenging hand of St. Peter in the sudden death that overtook Alaric in Calabria, before he could carry his host across the narrow sea.

After the Goths came the Huns, under their King Attila (452), but, already repulsed in Gaul in the previous year by Romans and Visigoths together, the Hunnish host was confronted on its march through Northern Italy by an impressive embassy from Rome, headed by Pope Leo I., and though no army barred the way, the fact remains that Attila withdrew. Rome was therefore reserved for an attack from the Vandals, a fierce Teutonic race settled in Northern Africa, three years later (455), but the passage of the Huns along the shore of the Adriatic had had one permanent result—the colonisation of the islands of the Venetian lagoon, from Grado to Chioggia, by thousands of refugees from the mainland villages, flying in panic terror before Attila, the Scourge of God. Here in security and isolation the fugitives and their descendants dwelt for centuries, until from these humble lagoon communities there arose in due time *La Dominante*, Venice.

Until the middle of the fifth century the descendants of Theodosius—Honorius, Galla Placidia, and her son Valentinian—wore the Imperial purple and reigned for the most part at Ravenna; but the Theodosian line became extinct in 454, and a succession of short-

lived Emperors ensued, made and unmade by the leaders of their barbarian troops, who have received in history the nickname of the Phantom Emperors. Their line ended in Romulus Augustulus, deposed in 476 by the Herulian chief Odovacar, who saw that the time had come to brush away the fiction of a Western Empire. He sent the Imperial insignia to Constantinople with a message to the Emperor Zeno that in future one Emperor would be sufficient for the Roman world.

This event, over which the ripples closed quietly enough in Odovacar's day, is usually designated by historians the "Fall of the Western Empire." Nor did any revival take place until, in a very different spirit from that of these Barrack Emperors, Charles the Great accepted from the hands of Pope Leo III., in the year 800, the crown of the "Holy Roman Empire." In that long interval of time Italy fell a prey to barbarian domination, not merely in the form of military rule, but in that of the invasion and settlement of whole barbarian races. The Eastern Emperor himself set the next horde in motion by commissioning Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths (then occupying part of what is now Roumania) to put down the upstart Odovacar and "win the western kingdom for himself and the Goths" (488). Hence the Ostrogothic conquest, which led to the settlement of some quarter of a million "noble savages" upon the soil of Italy and to the peaceful reign of the great Theodoric, whose constant ambition it was to unite *Gothia* and *Romania* in a well-ordered commonwealth. He employed Roman administrators, maintained the Roman law in full force, and even laboured to repair the walls of Rome, though his own residence was still mainly at Ravenna. But on his death the Gothic kingdom showed signs of disintegration, just at a time when the Eastern Empire, under the able Justinian, was in a position to make a determined bid for the re-conquest of Italy. For nearly twenty years

(535-553) the country was wasted by the long war that raged between Goths and Greeks—for the armies of Justinian, under Belisarius and Narses, though composed of many and various Balkan tribes, were officered by men who spoke the Greek tongue in spite of the fiction of calling it *Roman*. Rome under Belisarius endured a siege of a whole year from the Goths, who though unable at that time to take the city, left their mark upon it for many centuries to come by their cutting of the aqueducts—a deed that not only deprived Rome of her copious supplies of water, but turned the Campagna into a swamp, and probably increased very notably the ravages of the malarial mosquito. At length the Goths were defeated, and the remnant of their fighting men expelled the country, but the fundamental impotence of the Eastern Empire to hold and govern Italy was shown by the ease with which the next invading wave, the nation of the Lombards, swept in and spread over the peninsula as soon as the backs of Justinian's commanders were turned (568). This very primitive race—the *gens nefandissima* of ecclesiastical writers—fixed its headquarters at Pavia, but sent out strong offshoots to the conquest of the Centre and South, where the Lombard Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento were soon established. The possessions of the Eastern Empire dwindled to certain outposts, garrisoned by Greek troops, and placed under the authority of the Viceroy or Exarch of Ravenna, and the stage was set for the emergence of new forces which, through the twilight of the next five centuries, were slowly to reshape the ancient world.

Of these new forces by far the most vital and progressive was that which informed the Christian Church. Since Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the religion of the State (325) the affairs of the Church had gradually become of absorbing interest to Italy, and especially to Rome, where the absenteeism of the Emperors was compensated by the ever-grow-

ing influence claimed and exercised by the Bishops of Rome. Emerging from the Arian Controversy with an unblemished character for orthodoxy, the Popes were able to confront the barbarian invaders, who were all Arian Christians, with that attitude of superiority which overawed though it did not always convert them; while to the native Roman such events as a disputed Papal election brought the satisfaction of all those innate political instincts which had been too long suppressed under a paternal Empire. If the Italians "had not enough religion to make a heresy," they had, at least, sufficient political sense to make one of the world's greatest institutions, the Catholic Church. And in the first generation after the Lombard Conquest it happened that the Papal Chair was occupied by one of the greatest of Italians, Pope Gregory I. (590-604), who took advantage of the unique situation created by the invasion, to advance the claims of the Papacy to a point never yet attained by his predecessors.

The Lombards, a tribe of pure Teutonic descent, entered Italy not, like the Ostrogoths, with the object of setting up a legitimate rule under the patronage of the Empire, but with the sole purpose of taking the land for themselves and destroying any power that endeavoured to oppose them. They carried on a fierce war for thirty years with the Exarch of Ravenna and his Byzantine forces, and since the Exarch naturally devoted his chief efforts to defending the territories round Ravenna and along the eastern coast, Rome and Naples were left very much to their own resources. Lombard Dukes and Kings harried up to the very walls of Rome, but were there met by the protecting power of Gregory, whose long training as Prefect of Rome and as Nuncio at the Byzantine court had schooled him well in worldly affairs. More far-sighted than the Exarchs, he saw that the Lombards had come to stay, and that the Eastern Empire would never make good its claim to Italy, and his constant

endeavour was to make peace on tolerable terms with the Lombard Kings. Such a policy inevitably brought him into collision with the Eastern court, but facts are hard masters, and the people of Rome and of the vast "patrimonies" of the Church outside it looked gladly to Gregory as their true leader and guide, rather than to the distant and powerless Emperor. His prestige with the Lombards steadily grew, especially through his influence over their Queen Theodelinda, a Bavarian Princess, who as a Catholic laboured hard to bring her adopted people into the orthodox fold. It is said that Gregory sent her, as a mark of his special favour, one of the nails from the True Cross, and that the pious Queen had it beaten into the thin band of iron which gave its name to the "Iron Crown of the Lombards."

So the Lombard power was established in Italy, under a despotic King at Pavia and three semi-independent Dukes of Friuli, Spoleto, and Benevento, and the old Roman life of province and *civitas* sank underground. Probably its own increasing corruption and decay speeded its passing and enabled the new order to take root with the less regret for the old, but in any case no funds were now available for the payment of the old, elaborate hierarchy of Roman officials, and the Lombards quickly established their own authorities in town and countryside. For the conquerors, unlike the Saxons in Roman Britain, were by no means averse from city life and occupied both town and rural estate with equal relish, holding the Roman owners to the soil as *aldii* and exacting one-third of the produce for their own support. Gradually the two races mingled and regarded each other with less aversion, but no conscious attempt was made by the invaders to prolong or give new life to Roman institutions. These, however, still subsisted in the Exarchate, in Rome, and in Naples, and the fairly continuous contact surviving between different parts of Italy must have served to keep alive the memory

of Roman usages, even in regions where the Lombard system became most strongly rooted.

The process of converting the Lombards to Catholicism was completed by the middle of the seventh century, but their dangerous proximity to Rome prevented the growth of any real cordiality between them and the Popes, who looked instead to the growing but distant power of the Franks, now well established in Northern Gaul. In 727 a crisis was precipitated in Italy by the decrees of the Eastern Emperor, Leo the Iconoclast, whose attempt to put down the worship of images led to a fierce rebellion at Ravenna and to the further straining of relations between Empire and Papacy. The Lombard King Liutprand took advantage of the popular ferment to invade the Exarchate and seize Bologna and some of the coast towns, and for the next fifteen years a three-cornered struggle continued between Lombards, Greeks, and Papacy for the possession of these and other territories nearer Rome. Finally Pope Zacharias induced the King to hand over these latter to "Peter, Prince of the Apostles," thus establishing the earliest record of an actual "State of the Church" (742). Ten years later, however, the Lombard King Aistulf seized Ravenna and extinguished the Exarchate, afterwards advancing against Rome with threats of destruction. The Pope, Stephen II., took the desperate resolve of making a personal appeal to Pippin, King of the Franks; journeyed into Gaul, crowned Pippin as King and Patrician—a title which conveyed some vague right of protection over the Holy See—and at Quierzy, near Soissons, made a solemn treaty with him and his fighting men, which has been known ever since as the *Donation of Pippin* (754). By it Pippin undertook to hand over to the "Roman Republic" (*i.e.*, to the Pope) the Exarchate of Ravenna and all other territories which Aistulf had wrongfully seized. The promise was fulfilled two years later, and the envoys sent by the Eastern Emperor to demand the restora-

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tion of the Exarchate to him found that their pleadings fell on deaf ears. The power of the Eastern Empire on the Italian mainland was henceforth reduced to the possession of the "Duchy of Naples" and to certain portions of Apulia and Calabria.

The work of the Franks in Italy, however, was not yet ended, for the Lombards raised their heads once more, and it needed the intervention of a greater man than Pippin—his son, Charlemagne—to master them completely. In 774, in response to another Papal appeal, Charles descended into Italy, defeated and captured the last Lombard King, and himself took the title of *Rex Francorum et Langobardorum et Patricius Romanorum*. He visited Rome and confirmed the Donation of his father Pippin to the Church. The Lombard Counts and *Gastalds* in the towns were replaced by Franks, and only in the south did the vast Duchy of Benevento remain unsubdued. But even this was not enough. Twenty-five years later, Leo III., fleeing from the turbulence of Rome itself, came as a suppliant to find the Frankish King in Westphalia (799), and Charles agreed to follow him to Rome. How far the memorable event that then occurred had been prepared between the two, or what exactly was its significance to those concerned, will never be known, so meagre are the accounts of contemporary chroniclers; but the fact remains that on Christmas Day of the year 800, in the Basilica of St. Peter's, Pope Leo crowned the Frankish King as Augustus and Emperor. The Romans hailed his coronation with a mighty shout, and the Pope knelt in "adoration" at his feet. He could afford the act of homage, for had he not transformed to the service of the Church the greatest institution of the ancient world? A Frankish King might be proclaimed Roman Emperor, but to make his rule legitimate the Vicar of Christ must crown him. From that latent antithesis sprang the two master-currents that were to shape the life of the Italian Middle Ages.

CHAPTER II

*FRANKS, LOMBARDS, AND NORMANS, TO
THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII.*

(800—1085)

WITH the death of Charles the Great in 814, the forces of disorder which his strong presence had held in check for a time surged up again throughout his wide dominions. His descendants waged continual war upon one another, and although there was always, until their extinction in 888, one who bore the title of King of Italy, and was sometimes crowned Emperor as well, none of them were able to impose their will over more than a fraction of the Peninsula. Under these conditions the Lombard Counts and Dukes regained their power, so that by the end of the ninth century their great house of Spoleto was threatening to overshadow all other authorities and to bring back the Lombard Kingdom. But the Lombard character for pugnacity and internecine strife prevented the renewal of any permanent form of kingship, while the feudal tenures brought in by the Franks only increased the general confusion. Add to this that the ninth century saw the irresistible advance of the Saracens from North Africa into Sicily and Southern Italy, profiting by the disunion between Greeks and Lombards throughout those regions, and the distracted condition of Italy will be understood. This, however, is the time of the emergence of the maritime republics of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaëta, which thrived on sea-warfare with the Saracens and maintained their independence against the Lombard Dukes of Benevento and Salerno; while in the north-east corner of Italy, Venice had already passed through her first supreme test, in repulsing a determined attempt of the Franks against her in 810; had stolen the body of St. Mark from Alexandria (829), and had established the seat of

her government on that cluster of little islands in the midst of the lagoon which were then known as *Rivus Altus* or *Rialto*. In spite of the constant danger from Saracen fleets and pirates, the commerce of these sea-republics appears to have prospered during the ninth century, nor were they above an occasional alliance with the infidel, as when the Neapolitan fleet rendered decisive aid to the Saracens against the Byzantine garrison of Messina in 843. But when, a little later, the Saracens actually sailed up the Tiber and plundered the Basilica of St. Peter at their leisure, the common pride of Christendom was outraged and the sea-republics combined to inflict a crushing defeat on the infidel off Ostia in 849. And the stout-hearted Pope, Leo IV., pushed on the work of building a massive wall, known ever afterwards as the *Leonine*, around St. Peter's and the Borgo, to preserve the central shrine of Christendom from further insult. The Saracens, however, remained entrenched in many fortified posts of the South, especially on the river Garigliano, whence they constantly issued to take service with this or that Lombard Duke or to lay waste the Papal territories. In Sicily their conquest of the island was complete by the year 878 and the Byzantine garrison expelled. Only portions of Apulia and Calabria, with a shadowy suzerainty over the maritime republics, now remained to the Eastern Empire of all the conquests of Justinian.

The revival of the Lombard power reached its climax in the reigns of the two Dukes of Spoleto, Guy and Lambert, towards the end of the ninth century, and in that of Berengar of Friuli in the first quarter of the tenth; all of these were crowned King of Italy and Emperor by subservient Popes, and the last-named did good service by his incessant struggles against the Hungarian invaders who poured into Italy in the first years of the tenth century. His success, however, was only partial, and the advance of these wandering hordes of savages over the Lombard

plain caused the cities themselves to look to their defences and to form the first germs of a civic militia. Against the Saracens, the fighting Pope, John X., organised a league between the nobles of Rome and all the diverse elements of the South, and himself led the Roman militia to the attack on their entrenched camp beside the Garigliano. The Moslems were overpowered, and the year 915 marks the end of the Saracen threat to Rome which had endured for nearly a century.

In spite of the occasional appearance of a Carolingian Emperor or of a Lombard "King of Italy" in Rome, the eternal city had enjoyed a practical independence throughout the ninth century, and appears to have accepted without demur the rule of the Popes. This tendency was repeated in Northern Italy through the increasing powers conferred on the Bishops by the Frankish and Lombard Kings, who seem to have preferred the ecclesiastical authority to that of their own feudal Counts. Numerous charters of this date grant to the Bishops the right to levy taxes and to erect walls and fortifications round the towns—an indication of the declining power of the Counts and Gastalds and of the increasing self-reliance of the citizens. But in Rome the tenth century saw the beginnings of an antagonism between town and Papacy in the remarkable episode of the Senator Alberic, who called the citizens to arms against his dissolute mother, Marozia—the mistress of one Pope and the mother of a second—and ruled for two-and-twenty years as *Princeps ac Senator omnium Romanorum*, creating a succession of docile Popes and depriving them of all temporal power (932-954). He roused the civic spirit of the Romans by organising the city militia in twelve regiments corresponding to the ancient "regions" of the city, and taught them to fight in many bloody encounters with the partisans of the King of Italy of the day. With the help of the Abbot of Cluny he carried out a much-needed reform of the Benedictine

monasteries throughout the Roman territory,* and left to posterity a monument to his activities in the Priory of Malta on the Aventine, which had originally been his palace. He lived to defy the great Saxon King, Otto I., when the latter came on his first journey to Rome in 951, and only after Alberic's death was it possible for this Transalpine Prince to pursue his ambitious scheme for the revival of the Empire of Charlemagne.

For the anarchical condition of the country, and the invitation of a Pope, led once more, about the middle of the tenth century, to the intervention of a strong foreign King in the affairs of Italy. Otto the Great came, like Charlemagne, to chastise a Lombard King (Berengar II.), but, once involved in the vortex of Italian politics, he endeavoured to give a more permanent organisation to the Imperial power, and especially to regulate its relations with the Papacy. Here, however, he found himself in unexpected conflict with the Roman people, who thrice rebelled against him or his Papal nominee, and had to be suppressed with the utmost severity (962-966). Otto had revived a claim made by a grandson of Charlemagne in 824, that although the Pope might be *elected* by the clergy and people of Rome, he must not be consecrated without the Emperor's approval; indeed, he went further, and insisted that no Pope should even be elected without his consent, and so long as he lived succeeded in enforcing the condition. But it needed the spectacle of a Prefect of the City hanging by the hair of his head from the statue of Marcus Aurelius before the Romans would accept the Saxon tutelage. In the affairs of the country at large, however, Otto contributed to its pacification by his suppression of the last Lombard King, Berengar II., and by the encouragement he gave to the policy of granting charters of municipal sovereignty to the Bishops. Since at the same time he insisted on appointing the Bishops himself, this gave him a far surer hold upon the towns than when these were in the hands of hereditary

Counts. The Counts appear to have become relegated more and more to the countryside, so that the seeds were now sown of the future antagonism between nobles and burghers that was to be so marked a sign of the rise of the communes. But during the reigns of the three Ottos the rule of the Bishops procured a breathing-space for the towns, during which they increased in security and wealth and began to form the urban constitutions which developed later into the full-blown city-states.

Otto the Great remained in Italy for six years after his chastisement of the Romans in 966, and made a determined attempt not only to extend his rule over the south, but also to obtain recognition for it from the Eastern Empire, which had never yet deigned to acknowledge the new "Empire of the West." In this he was so far successful as to win the hand of a Byzantine Princess for his son Otto II., and to extend his suzerainty over the Duchy of Benevento; but although he made peace with the Emperor John Zimisce, it is probable that he failed to achieve any direct admission of his claim to the Empire. His son Otto spent the best part of his short life in fighting the Saracens of the South and suffered a signal defeat at their hands; but he died at the age of twenty-eight, leaving his titles and pretensions to his infant son, Otto III., during whose long minority the spirit of independence broke forth again in Rome. Another leader of the people arose in the person of the Patrician Crescentius, who ruled the city after the manner of Alberic, but when the young Otto at length reached Rome and endeavoured to reform the Papacy by placing a German idealist on the Papal throne, the inevitable collision occurred, and Crescentius was beheaded on the battlements of the Castle of St. Angelo (998). Otto was filled with mystic dreams for restoring the glory of the Roman Empire, but he had no constancy of purpose, and wavered between a longing to avenge his father by a campaign against the Saracens and the

delight of listening to the saintly converse of hermits like St. Nilus of Gaëta and St. Romuald of Ravenna. In 1001 he paid a secret visit to Venice, already the strongest sea-power in the Adriatic, in order to discuss with the Doge the possibility of an expedition against the infidels of the South. But he died in the next year, leaving Rome to follow the path of independence for another forty years.

While in the South the early years of the eleventh century saw the coming of the first roving bands of Norman adventurers who were at length to unite Southern Italy and Sicily in a compact feudal kingdom, and in Rome the Papacy sank again to be the sport of contending families and factions, in the great plain of the North the rising spirit of the cities made rapid strides and led, by the middle of the century, to the renowned hegemony of Milan. Here the period of the Ottos had brought peace and wealth to this, the most industrious mart of Lombardy, and Otto the Great had recognised its importance by receiving, in Sant' Ambrogio, the Iron Crown of the Lombards from the hands of its Archbishop. Now, from 1018 to 1045, the See was filled by one of those born leaders whom the Middle Ages threw up with such exuberance, the great Archbishop Heribert, whose invention of the *Carroccio*, or sacred car of the commune, was to be adopted throughout the North and Centre and to give the needed symbol to reinforce the new-found strength of the cities. Heribert represented the class of feudal aristocrats whom the Emperors had made their vassals-in-chief, and who by this date filled most of the Bishoprics of Italy, and since they in their turn had numbers of vassals in the districts outside the city walls, their military strength had become almost as formidable as that of the greater Counts and Marquises. Heribert's principal support, however, lay in the fighting spirit which he aroused in the populace of Milan. This was shown first in the punitive expeditions which he made against the neighbouring towns

of Pavia and Lodi—ominous foreshadowings of the inter-communal wars of the next century—and next in his victorious resistance to the Emperor Conrad, when the latter sought to curb the pretensions of his too powerful vassal. Though he had himself invited and crowned Conrad in 1026, he now repulsed him from the walls of Milan and sent him defeated back to Germany (1037). But Heribert was already aware of disunion among the Milanese themselves, and his own last years were embittered by a furious struggle waged by the minor vassals and the populace against the nobles whose order he represented. This struggle became merged after his death in something still more significant—a passionate religious unrest which, first taking the form of a revolt against the worldliness and luxury of the Milanese clergy, passed on to take up the cry that came at length from Rome—against the two sins of simony and clerical marriage. The Milanese or Ambrosian Church had always cherished with special affection the rule which it had inherited from St. Ambrose sanctioning the marriage of priests, while as to simony, the buying and selling of clerical offices had become as much a matter of course as the traffic in any other feudal estate, for which regular fees were paid. But now at length the voice of austerity was in the ascendant, for in Rome a reaction had set in against the scandalous Papacy that had followed on the Ottonian epoch. Once more a Transalpine reformer had descended, in the person of the Emperor Henry III., and had swept away the three Popes who were holding the three great basilicas of Rome with rival forces (1045); a self-respecting Papacy had been set up, and after the first two or three nominees of the Emperor had passed away a movement of protest had commenced against the control exercised by the German sovereign over the Papal elections. The inspiring genius of this movement was the Tuscan monk Hildebrand, who became chaplain to successive Popes and at length Archdeacon of Rome under

Nicholas II. It was under this Pope that the famous Lateran Council was summoned in 1059, which laid down the rule that the Pope was in future to be elected only by the Cardinal-bishops and Cardinal-priests of the Roman territory, though with some vague reservation of the rights of the Emperor. Whether Hildebrand was actually responsible for the decree or not is still a matter of controversy, but he was certainly deeply involved in the larger campaign against simony and clerical marriage. He twice visited Milan as Papal Legate and bearded Heribert's successor, Archbishop Guido, in his own citadel; but in spite of the revolutionary ferment among the Milanese it was remarkable that whenever Rome sought to interfere, local patriotism at once awoke to strengthen the Archbishop's hands. In the end, however, Guido was forced to visit Rome and receive investiture from the Pope, but, wearied out by the furious faction-strife in the streets and churches of Milan, he presently resigned and left the See in vacancy for some years.

Meanwhile the political genius of Hildebrand had seen to it that the Papal Chair should not lack worldly support in the struggle which he foresaw with the Empire on the question of investiture. To the north of Rome he made alliance with the powerful Marquis of Tuscany, whose vast possessions stretched well beyond the Apennines into the plain of the Po, and to the south he patronised the rising power of the Normans, to whose leader, Robert Guiscard, Pope Leo IX. had granted the investiture of all future conquests in 1053, making no mention of the rights either of the Eastern or the Western Empire. The Normans accepted with alacrity the rôle of protectors of the Papal See, which was to bring them so much honour and profit in the future.

Fortunately for the reformers, the long minority of Henry IV., son of Henry III., gave them time to consolidate their position, but when at length Hildebrand himself ascended the Papal Chair in 1073, as Gregory VII., Henry IV. was of full age and soon

showed that he was not disposed to submit to the new doctrine of the sinfulness of lay appointments to clerical offices. He had already made his own appointment to the Archbishopric of Milan and to two other Italian Sees, and when Gregory summoned him to Rome to answer for his offences, Henry convened a Council of German Bishops at Worms and hurled a decree of deposition against the Pope. But Gregory met ban with ban, not only excommunicating the King, but deposing him as well and releasing his subjects from their oath of allegiance (1076). Germany staggered at the unheard-of sentence, but it had its effect, and Henry was plainly told that he must obtain absolution within the year if he wished to keep his throne. Then followed the deep humiliation of Canossa, when Gregory, secure in the mountain stronghold of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, refused admission for three days to the King standing barefoot without, and in the end granted him absolution only, with no word of reinstatement (January, 1077). But in the civil war that followed Henry defeated his enemies, and by the spring of 1081 was moving upon Rome, with an Anti-Pope elected by the German Bishops in his train. Rome at first held out for Gregory, but when all efforts at reconciliation proved fruitless, the magistrates invited Henry to take possession, and while Gregory remained shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, the King caused his Anti-Pope to be consecrated as Clement III. and then passed to his own Imperial coronation in St. Peter's. But by this time Gregory's messengers had found the Norman Duke, Robert Guiscard, who now hastened to his suzerain's support. While Henry, with his small force, retreated northwards, Normans and Saracens to the number of 36,000 poured in upon defenceless Rome. They burnt the whole quarter between the Lateran and the Colosseum, so that it lay waste for centuries, and when at length Guiscard called them off they were obliged to carry Gregory with them, for

Rome would have him no more. He died at Salerno a year later (1085), giving with his last breath a tragic turn to the words of the Psalmist: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity: Therefore I die in exile."

CHAPTER III

THE CITIES OF NORTHERN ITALY AND THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN

(1085—1250)

WHILE the struggle over the right of investiture continued for another generation after the death of Gregory VII., and Pope or Anti-Pope passed, according to the strength or weakness of the Imperial party, across the troubled stage of Rome, the cities of the North and Centre took advantage of the quarrel to develop their own municipal independence. At the same time a new movement arose appealing to all the strongest instincts of the seaport towns, and opening to them an unlimited prospect of trade, adventure, and conquest in the East. Urban II. preached the First Crusade in 1095, and Venice, Genoa, and Pisa at once took their part both in the conveyance and the fighting, seizing whole towns, or quarters of towns, in Palestine as their share of the booty, and often coming into collision with the Greeks and with each other on their way to the Holy Land. Throughout the twelfth century, indeed, Venice was frequently at war, in addition to her crusading ventures, either with the Greeks or with the Normans, who, under their two great Kings, Roger I. and II., had won Sicily from the Saracens and Apulia from the Greeks, and had become a formidable third power in the Adriatic. But, in spite of occasional defeats, the power of Venice was in the ascendant, so that by the end of the century her assistance was considered indispensable in any further effort against the Saracens of Palestine. In

the memorable enterprise of Western Christendom, known as the Fourth Crusade (1201-1204), Venice was the predominant partner, and Venice suffered herself to be dazzled by the promises of a Greek pretender, and so to turn the armament against Constantinople as a step to the conquest of the East. By the siege and sack of the capital of Eastern Christendom in 1204, the "Franks" earned little glory in the eyes of posterity, but Venice became the mistress of an empire. Crete and the Greek Islands, with portions of the Morea and of Eubœa, fell into her hands, and henceforth her Doges styled themselves: "Despot and Lord of one quarter and half a quarter of the Roman Empire."

The peculiar constitution of Venice, with Doge, Ducal Councillors, and Great Council, had already been elaborated in all its main features by this date, but her isolation from the mainland had given her, in many respects, a different development from that of the typical cities of Northern and Central Italy. These acquired the free constitutions that have made them famous, largely as a result of the War of Investitures, which, by producing so many disputed elections to the Bishoprics, weakened the power of the Bishops and caused the cities to provide for their own safety by the election of *Consuls*. The first mention of Consuls at Milan occurs in a document of 1107, but the tendency towards civic independence was undoubtedly accelerated by the strange will of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, the old *dévôte* who had sheltered Gregory VII. at Canossa, and who now left the whole of her vast possessions to the Church, including the lands which she held only as a life tenant from the Empire (1115). The flames of discord blazed up afresh over this bequest, and in the confusion caused by the rival claims of Imperial and Papal vicars, the cities seized their opportunity and confronted both with the accomplished fact of a consular organisation. Florence dated her first consular government from the year of Matilda's death, and, although

the War of Investitures was ended in 1122 by the well-known Concordat of Worms, the settlement came too late to avert the democratic tendency. The growing trade of the Lombard and Tuscan towns added another potent influence for independence, for the great Arts, or Guilds, were already arising, and it is frequently the Consuls of the Guilds that become also the Consuls of the Commune.

But in Italy it was fated that no peaceful development should attend the rise of the spirit of liberty in the city-states. We have already noted the first efforts of Milan to dominate her lesser neighbours by force, and, as the twelfth century proceeded, these internecine struggles between the cities became ever more acute. There were long and bloody wars of many years' duration that frequently involved the total demolition of the weaker town and the parcelling out of its inhabitants among open villages. Many causes go to explain the endless pugnacity of the Lombard Communes: the absence of any strong controlling power to whose interest it was to keep the cities in continuous subordination to a central state; the presence, instead, of an occasional irruptive force, the Imperial authority, which only aggravated existing discords when it made its appearance, and threw the cities into the arms of the other and mightier authority, the Roman Church; and, finally, some hidden spring of youth and energy, never wholly explicable, which had lain sleeping through the dark centuries of change and incubation and now burst into arrogant and creative life. In the heyday of its strength this force came into violent collision with the typical feudal forces of the Middle Ages embodied in the Teutonic Emperor Frederick of Hohenstaufen (surnamed Barbarossa by the Italians), and suffered defeat at first owing to its fatal divisions; but when adversity had schooled it, it showed that it was in the end invincible. For twenty-two years, from 1154 to 1176, the war between Frederick and the Cities raged—pro-

voked in the first instance by the bitter complaints against Milan of two exiled citizens of Lodi who made their way to the Diet of Constance in 1153. Milan was always the head and front of the resistance. Twice was she besieged by Frederick's whole army, which included the militias of all the cities she had provoked to deadly feud, and when, at length, she had surrendered at discretion and Frederick had pronounced judgment upon her, it was the men of those cities who leapt upon her walls, tore them down to their foundations, and set fire to the city within (1162). But behind the resistance of the burghers there presently arose the figure of the Pope, thrown into secular opposition once more to the German Emperor-King. At Frederick's first coming in 1154, Pope and Emperor had combined for a moment against an outbreak of the Republican spirit of Rome, led by the prophet Arnold of Brescia; but the alliance was an unnatural one, and when the danger was laid by the sacrifice of Arnold, the two parties to it drifted apart once more. At the crisis of the Lombard War, a new Pope, Alexander III., though exiled from Rome by the Emperor's partisans, sustained the flagging spirits of the Cities, and it was with his blessing that they formed in secret the celebrated Lombard League (1167). At length all the towns which had at first taken Frederick's part—with the exception of Pavia the old centre of Lombard royalty—had adhered to the League, and solemnly the walls of Milan were rebuilt as its first symbolic act. Frederick was detained in Germany for some years at this period, but in May, 1176, the two armies marched to their final clash at the Battle of Legnano. Little is told us of the tactics pursued by rival commanders or of the weapons used in that memorable fight, but the Carroccio of Milan formed the centre of the burgher host, and the guards of the Carroccio gave no ground. At nightfall, Frederick had lost all and the citizen companies stood victorious on the field. There followed the famous

reconciliation at Venice—Venice chosen by both sides because she had shrewdly supported both at different stages of the war—whereat the Emperor humbled himself before Pope Alexander, and acknowledged the Cities' right to *elect* their Consuls, saving his own claim to invest them afterwards (1177). The settlement suited both sides, and in his latter years Frederick even cultivated the society of the Milanese, where streets and palaces had sprung up again as if by magic since the great destruction.

It was at Milan, in fact, that the old Emperor attained the crown of his ambition by marrying his son Henry to Constance, heiress of the Norman Kings of Sicily (1186). The Norman dynasty, consisting of but four Kings, covering the best part of the twelfth century, had brought Sicily and Southern Italy up to an astonishingly high level of civilisation, by the simple but then almost unknown device of tolerating all races and religions on a footing of equality. In Palermo—which was said to number 300,000 souls—the learning of the East met the nascent inquiry of the West, and throughout the kingdom trade and commerce flourished prodigiously, so that the last King, William the Good, was able to send out fleets of 200 sail to assert his might in the wars of Constantinople, of Palestine, or of Egypt. But, having no son, he consented, though sorely against the advice of his more far-seeing ministers, to the marriage above-mentioned, thereby subjecting South as well as North to German hegemony: a highly unstable arrangement which presently incurred the deadly hostility of the Popes, and brought down upon the Southern Kingdom the curse of foreign conquest and enslavement.

But for a time the anxieties of the Pope slumbered, for Henry VI. had but a brief career (1190-1197), and at his death the strong German rule he had built up in Central Italy crumbled to pieces. His widow, dying in the next year, left the guardianship of his infant

son Frederick to the Pope himself, the great Pope Innocent III., and so fastened the suzerainty of the Church more firmly upon the Southern Kingdom. While the youth of the most fascinating ruler of the Middle Ages was spent at Palermo, in the free atmosphere of Arab wisdom, Greek philosophy, and Christian dialectics, Innocent was able to re-establish the power of the Papacy in Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter, where native and German barons defied him from fortified towns and castles, and the Senate which Arnold of Brescia had re-vivified arrogated to itself the right of ruling Rome. Little by little Innocent attained his object, until the Donation of Pippin, which had long been a mere memory, became almost an accomplished fact, and even the Romans forgot their Republican traditions for a time by accepting the rule of a single Senator appointed by the Pope. More significant still, Innocent III., confronted by the still seething heresy of Lombardy, harnessed to the service of the Church a similar but sweeter force, the genius of St. Francis of Assisi. By authorising the foundation of the Franciscan Order, Innocent let loose upon the mediæval world the doctrines of poverty and love, and by so doing enlisted the common people on the Church's side in the supreme encounter between Empire and Papacy.

For the last serious effort of the Mediæval Empire to dominate Italy was to be made by Barbarossa's grandson, this youthful Frederick who had imbibed the civilisation of the South under his Arab tutors at Palermo. But in the fifty years that had elapsed between his grandfather's wars and his own, the aspect of affairs had greatly changed in Lombardy, or rather the eternal strife of the Lombard cities had taken a new note. The struggle is now not so much a simple one between town and town as a blindly revolving strife between the victorious burghers of the towns and the feudal barons of the countryside, whom they had subdued and forced to live within the city

walls. The barons made ill citizens in the towns of their adoption, and in the frequent broils and expulsions which their arrogance provoked, they knew that they already stood allied with all the enemies of their coercing city. And when in the first ten years of the thirteenth century the accidental adoption of two German names—the one from a castle of the Hohenstaufen, Waiblingen, the other from the rival family of Welf, or Guelf—gave a rallying cry to the partisans of Emperor and Pope, these social divisions found themselves caught up in the fatal antagonism that dominated everything in Italy. Thus, wherever the majority of the coercing city was Guelf or Papalist, the nobles would be Ghibelline, and vice versa. On the whole, the nobles were mainly Ghibelline and the towns mainly Guelf, but there were some notable exceptions, such as Pavia, Cremona, and Pisa, which always maintained Imperialist affections, and whose recalcitrant nobles were, therefore, Guelf.

In this highly inflammable atmosphere the only wonder was that the final blaze was deferred for so long. But Frederick II. was occupied for the first twenty years of his reign in consolidating his position in Germany, in conducting his remarkable crusading enterprise in the East, in the face of three Papal excommunications (1227-1230), and in attending to the affairs of his favourite possessions, Sicily and Apulia. There he continued the work of the Norman Kings by curbing the power of the barons, encouraging learning by the foundation of the University of Naples, and attracting to his court the wandering scholars and poets that made of it the seed-bed of Italian literature. By his codification of the Lombard and Norman Laws in the *Constitutions of Melfi* (1231) and the appointment of royal judges, he did what in him lay to promote the reign of law and justice. But he was called away from his Southern Kingdom in 1235 by the revolt of one of his sons in Germany, and was there joined by the evil genius of his later years, one,

Ezzelino da Romano, prototype of all that was most repulsive in the Italian despot of the next century. By his counsel Frederick resolved on war with the Lombard Cities, where Milan had taken up the cause of his rebellious son, and where the Lombard League had been renewed against him, in a passive sense, some years before. For fourteen years Northern Italy was laid waste by a cruel and bitter war, in which Frederick employed his Saracen warriors from the South, his German chivalry, and his Ghibelline partisans, and the Cities displayed an admirable heroism, sustained throughout by the spiriual thunders of the Popes. Excommunicated by Gregory IX., excommunicated and deposed by Innocent IV. and the Council of Lyons (1245), his life conspired against by his Apulian barons, his camp beaten up by the Parmesans and his favourite son taken captive by the Bolognese, Frederick still made head against his fate; but the long strain wore out his bodily powers, and he died at last in the year 1250, at one of his southern castles. With him collapsed the long-drawn effort of Germany to hold sway in the Italian peninsula. But not for that was Italy to enjoy a development untroubled by foreign invasion. It was now to be the turn of France.

CHAPTER IV

CHARLES OF ANJOU—THE RISE OF FLORENCE AND OF THE TYRANNIES —THE EXILE AND RETURN OF THE PAPACY

(1265—1377)

WITHIN sixteen years after the death of Frederick II., the inveterate hostility of the Popes to the "brood of vipers," as they openly termed his offspring, had cut short the reign of his brilliant son Manfred in

Sicily and Naples and let in a horde of French adventurers upon those regions, under Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis. This revolution in the affairs of Italy—for it was nothing less—was partly due to the fact that a Frenchman, Urban IV., was elected to the Papal Chair in 1261, but partly also to the too great success of Manfred in carrying on the policy of his father and in giving a lead to the Ghibelline party throughout Italy. Portrayed for all time in Dante's single line—"Biondo era e bello e di gentile aspetto"—Manfred, whose mother was Italian, had given some hope of the development of a national dynasty in the South, independent of the German line; but he was killed by the Pope's crusaders in a battle outside the walls of Benevento and his widow and four sons immured for life in the conqueror's dungeons (1266). All further resistance to the march of Charles of Anjou collapsed with his death, and within two years Charles was master of the whole Kingdom. He decided to take up his own residence at Naples instead of at Palermo, and the vast and forbidding Castel Nuovo is there the principal monument of his reign. So oppressive, however, was his rule and so bitter the hatred against his needy followers, who spread themselves like a swarm of locusts over the unhappy land, that it was only on the mainland that he succeeded in establishing his dynasty. In Sicily the violent uprising at Palermo, known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282), followed by a massacre of the French throughout the island, put an end to his dominion there, for the Sicilians offered the crown to King Peter of Aragon, who had married Manfred's daughter, and all the efforts of Angevins and Popes together failed to drive him out. At length in 1302 his son Frederick was recognised by Boniface VIII. as King of Trinacria, and throughout the fourteenth century Sicily enjoyed a considerable prosperity under the Aragonese dynasty, who encouraged the development of the native Parliament and ruled largely by its means.

But on the mainland Charles of Anjou, an able and unscrupulous tyrant, prospered in all his undertakings, and as Manfred had sustained the Ghibellines of Upper Italy, so Charles sustained the Guelfs. A typical instance of the action and reaction of these greater forces upon the fortunes of individual cities may be seen in the case of Florence, which, as we saw, had enjoyed a consular government ever since the death of the Countess Matilda in 1115. Florence had increased greatly in wealth and prosperity throughout the twelfth century, owing principally to the steady development of her great cloth-making industry. In 1193 she had adopted, in addition to her Consuls, the expedient of the "Head of the State," or Podestà, an official elected for one year only and always imported from another city, so as to secure impartiality. He acted both as supreme magistrate and as commander of the communal army, but his power was strictly limited by his Council, into which the Consuls were gradually transformed, and by the rule that at the end of his year of office he was obliged to remain in the city for fifty days to answer all charges against his administration. This curious institution became characteristic of all the Italian communes at this time, and testified, no doubt, to the need for greater executive efficiency. At Florence, just as acutely as elsewhere, the divisions of Guelf and Ghibelline had crept in, representing the jealousy of the burgher class against the proud and unruly nobles who had been brought in and forced to live within the city walls, and the wars of Frederick, Manfred, and Charles had all affected her in turn. In 1249 Florence had been seized and held to ransom by one of Frederick's sons, but on the Emperor's death she had shaken herself free and had established a popular and democratic government with a new official known as the Captain of the People, and a strong bias against the noble or Ghibelline element in her constitution (1250).⁶ A violent explosion even expelled the Ghibellines, who went to take refuge at Siena and, obtaining

help from Manfred, fell upon the Florentine army as it went slowly forth to meet them and gained over it the crushing victory of Montaperto (1260). The proud city was humbled to the dust, and narrowly escaped the destruction that had fallen on Milan. It is said that she was saved only by the intercession of Farinata, one of her exiled Ghibelline chiefs.

But with the coming of Charles of Anjou the tables were turned once more in Tuscany. The Guelfs of Florence returned to power and a new central Government, formed by the six Priors of the Arts or Guilds, with their Council, took its place between the existing Councils of the Podestà and of the Captain (1282). Extraordinarily severe enactments against the noble class, whether Guelf or Ghibelline, followed in 1292, but the rich Geulf nobles bided their time, and taking advantage of the passage of a French Prince in 1301, whom a Pope had called in against the Aragonese in Sicily, they led a popular rising against the moderate bourgeoisie, fastened the suspicion of Ghibellinism upon them and cast many hundreds of them out into exile. In the long roll of those banished under pain of death should they return, occurs the name of Dante Alighieri. But in spite of these civil tumults, Florence held fast to the principle of popular government and throughout the fourteenth century escaped the fate which had by this time overtaken almost all the other cities of the North and Centre—that of the rule of a *Signor* or Lord as the only alternative to the endless party strife. One or two experiments in that direction only increased her abhorrence of despotism, and, in 1343, after the brief signory of a French soldier of fortune who bore the romantic title of Duke of Athens, a furious rising of the people against the nobles who had supported him finally shattered their power and prepared the way for the entry of the lower classes, organised in the Minor Guilds, to political power. Meanwhile, simultaneously with this exuberant life of the Piazza, the glory of Florence in art and architec-

ture had been steadily growing. This was the period of the building of the Campanile, the Cathedral, Sta. Maria Novella, the Palazzo Vecchio, the Bargello, and the Gothic palaces of the nobles that frowned at each other across the narrow streets—and also of the first outpouring of an immortal literature in the Italian language. Small wonder that the Florentines felt all the glow of national pride and fondly spoke of their Republic as the “eldest daughter of Rome.”

But in the other great cities of Northern and Central Italy the fifty years that followed the death of Frederick II. formed the transition stage for the emergence of those native despotisms which were to become the full-blown “Signories” of the fourteenth century. The unending strife of Guelf and Ghibelline, involving massacres, expulsions, and confiscations on an unheard-of scale, and usually revolving round the animosities of rival families and clans, filled these years with clamour, until one after another the cities gladly welcomed the sway of some fortunate “Captain of the People” who arose from the chaos and on whom they bestowed their “Signory” either for life or for a limited time. He was usually strong enough to recall the exiles and to impose internal peace on the exhausted state. Frequently there was a period of oscillation between two rival families, the one Guelf, the other Ghibelline, and it was remarkable that at Milan, the ancient stronghold of the Guelfs, it was the Ghibelline clan of the Visconti that eventually rose victorious (1310). At Ferrara, on the other hand, the Guelf house of Este founded a supremacy that was to endure for three and a half centuries (till 1598); at Mantua the Ghibelline Gonzaga at length emerged (1328) and founded a permanent dynasty, while at Verona the people hailed as their “Perpetual Captain” a popular leader named Della Scala, from whom sprang the brilliant Scaliger line. All these citizen-princes ruled as pure despots, perhaps respecting the Republican forms, but filling the Councils with nominees

of their own and resting on the arms of mercenary soldiers; for it was to their interest to discourage citizen armies, whose loyalty was not always to be trusted. Thus the proud liberty of the Italian communes decayed, but prosperity increased, for the Prince encouraged industry and commerce, fostered art, and by gradually extending his dominion over the neighbouring towns broke down vexatious barriers to trade, thereby increasing his own revenues and the security of his subjects. The Age of the Despots, with all its brilliance, its civilisation, and its crimes, was a typical product of the genius of the Italian people of that day, and since it made for the absorption of the weaker cities by the stronger it also promoted the political consolidation of the country. Gradually a balance of power was attained between the five greater states: Naples, Rome, Florence, Milan, and Venice, with Ferrara, Mantua, and Genoa as attendant satellites.

The development of these independent princedoms was powerfully assisted by the fact that during the fourteenth century Italy was neglected both by Empire and Papacy. Only two Emperors, Henry of Luxemburg and Louis of Bavaria, made brief descents, and by an extraordinary chain of circumstances the Papacy itself submitted to a voluntary exile from Rome and went into "Babylonish Captivity" in the Provençal city of Aragon. This was the result of the turbulent reign of Boniface VIII., Dante's great enemy* (1294-1303), who as Cardinal had encouraged the abdication of his predecessor, the poor saintly hermit, Celestine V. Dante branded with a bitter word the soul of him who made the *gran rifiuto*, and reserved a place in Hell, in the Pits of the Simonists, for his supplanter, Boniface. In terrestrial matters, Boniface was the Pope who, after carrying on a furious vendetta against the great Colonna family and razing their stronghold of Palestrina to the ground, called in the French Prince, above-mentioned (Charles of Valois) to settle the affairs of Florence and of Sicily, and was thus responsible for

the tragic events in Florence that led to Dante's banishment. But it was his quarrel with Philip IV. of France that finally brought down the great catastrophe upon himself and on the Papacy. Bulls and threats of excommunication on Boniface's part had alternated with defiance from the King and the Three Estates for seven years, till at length Philip, egged on by the Colonna exiles who haunted his court, planned an audacious attempt to kidnap the Pope and bring him by force before a Council of the Church at Lyons. Sciarra Colonna and a party of French and Italian men-at-arms actually beat up the Pope's summer quarters at Anagni, but, daunted by the fearless behaviour of the old man, dared not carry out their threat and let time slip until a rescue party of the Orsini—secular rivals of the Colonna—rode in from Rome (Sept., 1303). The Pope returned under their escort, but the shock of Philip's outrage had so eaten into his soul that he died mysteriously a month later. A weak and short-lived Pope followed him for a few months, but on his death in 1304 a French Cardinal was elected who took the view (probably dictated by King Philip) that Rome was unsafe as a Papal residence and established his abode at Avignon instead. There an uninterrupted succession of French Popes carried on their reigns, in moral subjection to the Kings of France and to the Angevin Kings of Naples (to whom Avignon belonged) until in 1377 the preaching of St. Catherine of Siena and the desperate state of Papal affairs in Italy procured at length a return to deserted Rome.

The condition of Rome itself during this period was one of abject misery and degradation, for the incessant feuds of the robber barons—Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli—kept the city in a state of continual anarchy, while the absence of the Papal court brought ruin to its trade. The curious episode of Rienzi's revolt against the Barons (1347 and 1354) is only significant as showing how, ever and anon, the Re-

publican spirit of Rome could be kindled to fiery action, but Rienzi himself was no statesman and achieved nothing permanent except the slaughter of a large number of the Colonna and Orsini. This, however, left the way clear to a better state of things, for the nobles never again attained to such unbridled power, and the latter part of the Babylonish Captivity is the period when the mediæval Republic of Rome, with its Conservators and Guild of Archers, attains its highest development. It was created by the Romans themselves, but confirmed by the great Cardinal d'Albornoz, who was sent to Italy in 1353 to reclaim and reorganise the Papal State. Albornoz subdued the scores of petty tyrants who, since the fall of Boniface VIII., had sprung up in Tuscany, Umbria, and the region north of the Apennines which, representing the old Exarchate, now began to be called *Romagna*—and encouraged the formation of civic constitutions in these towns. But his good work endured only for a few years, for on his death these territories fell into the hands of rapacious French Legates who gradually roused the smouldering spirit of revolt. It burst into a flame in 1375, when the Legate in Romagna provoked the Florentines to fury by sending the terrible "English Company" to raid and maraud in Florentine territory. The Republicans flew to arms and organised a fierce revolt throughout the regions pacified by Albornoz, so that within a few months the Papal State was once more lost to the Church. It was this that finally determined the return of Pope Gregory XI. to Rome (1377), while the brutal Breton Company carried fire and sword on his behalf into the towns of Romagna; but Gregory died shortly after his arrival and the Roman people seized the opportunity to insist on the election of an Italian as his successor. They had their will in the consecration of the Neapolitan Urban VI., perhaps the most melodramatically wicked of all the long line of Popes; but the French Cardinals rebelled and elected the

Captain, of the Breton Company, Cardinal Robert of Geneva, as their Pope and carried him with them to Avignon. Thus to the Babylonish Captivity succeeded the Great Schism, and Italy was left once more to her own destinies.

CHAPTER V

MILAN AND VENICE—ANGEVINS AND ARAGONESE AT NAPLES—THE MEDICI IN FLORENCE

(1311—1492)

By the middle of the fourteenth century the great house of the Visconti had been established for two generations at Milan and had carried its Viper crest into all the towns of Central Lombardy which had of old fought either as allies or enemies of the Republic. Vigorous and aggressive, this house was continually pushing its fortunes by wars, intrigues, and alliances, for its strength was based upon the wealth and industry of Milan and its members had little cause to fear discontent at home. According to the original grant of their *dominium* by the Emperor Henry VII in 1311 they ruled as *Imperial Vicars* in return for a money payment to the Emperor, and bore the title—confirmed by the Great Council of 900 burghers—of *Dominus generalis*. This was sufficient for the first three generations, of whom the famous Archbishop John (1339-1354) even acquired Bologna, the headquarters of the Papal power in the old Exarchate, and induced Genoa, worn out by faction strife at home, to accept him as her overlord. Neither of these acquisitions endured for long, but they are typical of the energy and success of the house, which further increased its fame a little later by two resounding royal marriages. Lionel Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., came to Milan in 1368 to wed the daughter of the reigning Visconti and to take

her dowry of 200,000 gold florins, and a little later the Lord of Milan obtained for his son, Gian Galeazzo, the hand of Isabella de Valois, paying 500,000 florins for the privilege. Thus the wealth of Milan was used to ennoble her bourgeois princes, and the final stage was reached when, in 1395, Gian Galeazzo, in his turn, bought the title of Duke from the bankrupt Emperor Wenceslaus and married his daughter Valentina to the Duke of Orleans. But from this latter union sprang a heritage of grief for Italy.

This first Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1378-1402), was by far the ablest of his house and all but succeeded in carving a kingdom out of the North and Centre. Never taking the field himself, he employed from his palace at Pavia the native companies of mercenary soldiers who had by now sprung up in imitation of the earlier English and Breton Companies; he expelled the last of the Scaliger line from Verona and annexed both that city and Vicenza; he acquired Pisa by purchase and persuaded Perugia, Assisi, and Siena to ask for his signory, and, taking no account of a divided Papacy, he besieged and took Bologna. In the meantime he was building the Cathedral of Milan and the Certosa of Pavia; rebuilding the latter's ancient university and constructing the canal that still exists between Pavia and Milan. He dreamed of nothing less than the crown of Italy, and when Bologna fell began to encircle Florence and make preparations for his coronation there. But fever took him, and he died (1402), and on the ruins of his little empire Venice stepped in and absorbed Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, while Florence at length acquired Pisa, long the object of her ambition, and Bologna and the Umbrian towns relapsed to the Pope. The death of Gian Galeazzo, in fact, marked a turning-point in the development of the greater states of Italy, for while the Duchy of Milan subsisted under his son, Filippo Maria, the confusion caused by his sudden disappearance directly favoured the expansion

of Venice on the mainland and gave a strong impetus to the ambition and prosperity of Florence. Venice had already defeated her bitter rival, Genoa, at sea in the War of Chioggia (1378-1380), and now, as we have seen, had acquired a mainland state bounded by the Alps, the Adige, and the Piave. Untroubled by internal faction owing to the remarkable solidity of her aristocratic constitution, the Republic of St. Mark was now at the height of her power and influence, until, with the flooding-in of the Turk over the decaying Eastern Empire, she was obliged to fight for her life against a foe that gave no quarter. The heroism of Venice in stemming the tide of Turkish invasion, unsupported by the rest of Europe, is too little known in the West, and constitutes, together with her genius for beauty, her eternal claim upon the gratitude of Christendom. Genoa, on the other hand, had already passed her prime by the end of the fourteenth century, owing to her ungovernable internal factions, and after her defeat by Venice in the War of Chioggia had invited the suzerainty of the King of France. The French, always glad of a foothold in Italy, had sent a garrison to occupy the town in 1396.

Meanwhile in the South the French dynasty established by Charles of Anjou in 1266 had maintained itself throughout the fourteenth century, although at the cost of many bloody struggles with the Hungarian branch of the Angevin family and with other Provençal or Angevin pretenders raised up against it by the later Popes of Avignon. By the murder of the unhappy Queen Joanna I. in 1382, the Hungarian branch had established itself at Naples in the person of King Charles III., and the son of this King, young Ladislaus, aspired to play a great part in the politics of Italy and of the Papacy (1399-1414). Taking advantage of the weakness of the divided Papacy and of the ancient anti-Papal sentiments of the Roman people, he made himself master of Rome in 1408 and received the submission of all the principal cities of

the Papal State; visions of the Imperial crown even hovered before his eyes. His influence frustrated the efforts of the Council of Pisa in 1409 to put an end to the Great Schism, for Ladislaus dreaded the election of a single Pope as being less amenable to his influence. But with his early death in 1414 the fabric he had reared fell to the ground. The Council of Constance (1415-1420) insisted on the abdication of all the three Popes who at that time divided Christendom, and sent Cardinal Oddo Colonna to Rome as Universal Pope (Martin V.); and under the rule of Ladislaus' feeble sister, Joanna II., the Kingdom of Naples relapsed into a chronic state of war between rival mercenary captains, or *condottieri*, representing the claims of rival pretenders to the succession. In 1424 the Queen adopted as her heir Alfonso, King of Aragon, who claimed descent from Manfred, but then, under Papal pressure, revoked the gift and died in 1435 bequeathing the kingdom to the Angevin prince, René of Provence. The famous condottiere, Sforza the Elder, had made his fortune in Joanna's wars on the Angevin side, and at his death in 1424 passed on his system to his able son Francesco. But owing to the intervention of the Duke of Milan, son of the great Visconti, it was at length the Aragonese who won the prize at Naples. With the reign of the romantic Prince, Alfonso the Magnanimous (1435-1458), some sense of security and peace returned to the distracted country. But none the less did the Angevin claim to Naples survive across the Alps, to be the source of many and bitter ills for Italy in the time to come.

The fifteenth century in Italy—the wonderful Quattrocento—is the time in which the Italian genius in the arts of civilisation flowered most abundantly: the age of fruition before the desolating storms of the Foreign Invasions. In Florence, the first quarter of the century saw the rule of the stately merchant-aristocracy known as the *Ottimati*, under whose patronage

Ghiberti, cast the bronze doors of the Baptistery, Brunelleschi reared the dome of the Cathedral, and Masaccio founded the school of painting which has made his fame second only to Giotto's. Guicciardini, most distinguished of Florentine historians, writing a century later, says that "in that time the city of Florence was in a most blessed state, abounding with excellent men in every faculty and full of admirable citizens." But the lower classes were ground down by heavy taxation, raised in order to pay for the Republic's frequent wars against the Duke of Milan, and gradually the rich banking family of the Medici put themselves forward as the champions of the poor against the ruling order; incurred banishment in 1433, but returned next year on a wave of popular enthusiasm to inaugurate the subtle and nameless form of despotism which the Florentines were at last prepared to accept. The rule of Cosimo de Medici (*Pater Patriæ*), of his son Piero and his grandson Lorenzo covered sixty years of the fifteenth century, and rested on the acquiescence of the populace in their manner of manipulating all elections to office while maintaining the Republican forms. If faction occasionally raised its head, the Medicean mob was called into the Piazza to sanction by acclamation the nomination of a new Committee, or Balia, to reform the state, and the Balia consisted always of Medicean partisans. Thus Florence had lost her liberty, but loved her bondage, and the glory of learning, literature, and art during this period is too well known to need any mention here.

In the political field, moreover, Cosimo de Medici, far-sighted statesman as he was, deserved well of his city and of Italy by the efforts he made to secure internal peace and to put an end to the long and costly rivalry between Florence and Milan. The last Duke of Milan of the Visconti line, Filippo Maria, died in 1447, having given his only daughter in marriage to the successful condottiere, Francesco

Sforza. The Milanese attempted a brief return to liberty on Filippo's death, with the curious episode of the "Golden Ambrosian Republic," but faction awoke at once, Venice turned a deaf ear to the Republic's appeal for support, and Sforza was at length called in by his partisans within the walls. With his establishment as Duke of Milan (1450), Cosimo de Medici, who was personally attached to him, induced the Florentines to lay aside their traditional hostility towards Milan and to make alliance with its Duke instead. Venice presently joined their league at the Peace of Lodi (1454), and by the mediation of the first Pope of the Renaissance, Nicholas V., even Alfonso of Naples joined in the general peace. Thus all Italy enjoyed a brief respite before the coming of the Foreign Invaders, and at a time when both England and France fell a prey to dynastic and feudal struggles that checked their advance in civilisation, and Spain was only just emerging from a primitive state of society, Italy was leading the world in all the gracious arts. The traffic in Greek manuscripts from the East had begun long before the fall of Constantinople in 1453, having received a strong impetus from the visit of the Eastern Emperor to Florence, with many a learned attendant, to take part in the Council that was to unite the Greek and Latin Churches in 1439. Pope Nicholas V. (1447-1455) encouraged the Classical Renaissance by founding the Vatican Library and by the patronage he gave to wandering scholars, while his successor, the celebrated Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.), lives immortalised in all his varied genius in the frescoes that adorn the cathedral of his own Siena. Cosimo de Medici founded and patronised the Platonic Academy at Florence; the "Good Duke," Federigo of Urbino, professional condottiere though he was, laid up his priceless treasure of Greek and Latin manuscripts, bound with red velvet and clasped with silver, during these years; and at the courts of lesser Princes, such

as those of Ferrara and Mantua, the share of the learned ladies in revelries and pageants begins to mark the emergence of women from the seraglio stage of civilisation.

The peace of Italy was rudely broken in 1478 by the attempt of one Riario, nephew of the turbulent Pope Sixtus IV., to murder the two Medici brothers, Lorenzo and Giuliano, grandsons of Cosimo. Giuliano was actually killed in church, but Lorenzo escaped, and Florence flew to arms against the Pope on behalf of her popular lord. The internal wars of Italy, however, were waged with little bloodshed by this date, owing to the unwritten code observed by rival condottieri, and though Sixtus was able to persuade his ally, the King of Naples, to send troops raiding into Tuscany, Lorenzo de Medici boldly visited the King himself in Naples and convinced him of the ever-present danger of a French-Angevin invasion of Naples if he and the Pope continued to stir up trouble in Italy. The King (Ferrante, son of Alfonso) admitted these arguments, but it was only when the Turks, in their all-conquering career, descended upon Otranto and sawed its Archbishop in two as a warning to others that he effectively called off his troops from Tuscany (1480). The rest of Lorenzo de Medici's reign at Florence (1474-1492) was spent in a constant endeavour to preserve Italy from "these Ultramontanes," as he called them, but his greatest obstacles were the two Popes, Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII., who, whenever they had trouble with the King of Naples, were only too easily inclined to play the threat of an Angevin pretender. Lorenzo knew, however, that the direct representative of the Angevin line, King René of Provence, had died in 1481 bequeathing his claims on Naples to the King of France; and though Louis XI. was too astute to take them up, the danger of a French invasion was from that moment very near. Lorenzo therefore established a hold over the weak-minded Innocent VIII. and so succeeded in

staving off the evil day; and though the land was full of forebodings the breathing-space endured for his lifetime. His position as Lord of Florence was one which it needed all the traditional arts of his house to maintain, and besides his patronage of poets and Neo-Platonists and his interest in the Carnival revels, we find him directing his army of spies and appointing his committee of *Sgravatori*, or assessors of taxes, whose business it was to crush Lorenzo's enemies by vindictive assessments and to grant favours to his friends. But the fine statecraft of Lorenzo de Medici was not sufficient either to avert the storm from Italy or to secure the undisturbed possession of the *Signory* to his son. The prophecies of the mighty Dominican, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, who invoked the Sword of the Lord to cleanse the sins of Italy, were to have their fulfilment, and the fortunes of the Medici were to sink for a time in the general catastrophe.

CHAPTER VI

THE AGE OF THE FOREIGN INVASIONS

(1494—1530)

THE foolish son of Louis XI. of France, Charles VIII., had looked forward from childhood up to the glorious enterprise of chasing the usurping Aragonese from the throne of Naples. Born in 1470, he waited only until fortune had united the resources of France in his hands before setting forth on an adventure to which he was continually incited, amongst others, by the exiled Angevin nobles escaping from the butcheries of Ferrante and Alfonso, Kings of Naples. The road was opened to him by the usurping Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, son of Francesco, who, having supplanted his nephew, the rightful Duke, dreaded an attack by the King of Naples, the young man's

father-in-law. Thus supported by the wealth of Milan, Charles VIII. crossed the Alps with 60,000 men in September, 1494, but he bore with him his cousin Louis, Duke of Orleans, representing the Orleanist claim on Milan, which had passed into France with Valentina Visconti in 1398; and Ludovico knew that the French Prince was only biding his time. These two French claims, that of the King on Naples and that of Orleans upon Milan, make the dominant note of the Foreign Invasions of Italy; but the former by its very success provokes the counter-claim of the rising monarchy of Spain, representing the legitimate branch of Aragon, and leads in the end to the deadly trial of strength between Francis I. and Charles V. at Pavia, to the Sack of Rome and all the woes of Italy.

The invasion of Charles VIII. was a brilliantly successful affair as far as the immediate conquest of Naples was concerned, for the young King Ferrante II. fled without a blow, and Charles was able to enjoy for three months the delights of the corruptest city in Europe. But, in his rear, the Duke of Milan had turned against him, for Louis, Duke of Orleans, had remained in the north, and was proclaiming himself rightful Duke, so that when Charles, in alarm, marched northwards out of the trap, he was confronted by an Italian army on the skirts of the Apennines, and had some difficulty in breaking through (1495). But French steel showed its superiority, and Charles passed safely back over the Alps—only to die four years later, leaving the crown to that very Duke of Orleans, now Louis XII., who had already cast his eyes upon Milan. But the significance of Charles's passage had lain mainly in the events that it provoked in Florence, where the young son of Lorenzo de Medici had fled in panic before a rising of the mob, and Charles had been welcomed instead by the prophet Savonarola. Florence, in fact, regained her liberty and adopted a Republican form, based on the election of a Great Council of some three thousand burghers, while

the Priors and the "Gonfalonier of Justice" formed the executive. The great Dominican inspired these proceedings, and for a short four years pursued his astonishing task of weaning the Florentines from all their gracious sins and transforming them into exalted Puritans. But he was pitted against the most sinister force of the age, in the person of the Spanish Pope, Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia), who, with his sons, daughters, and mistresses, occupied the Vatican Palace from 1492 to 1503. Alexander had no great difficulty in allying himself with the reactionary forces in Florence to put an end to the Friar's career, and on May 23, 1498, Savonarola and his two companions, wasted and racked by torture, expiated their idealism on a gallows erected in the Piazza. But not even so would Florence allow the return of the Medici, and by the creation of a "Gonfalonier for life," under strict constitutional guarantees, staved off the return of despotism for another dozen years.

It was upon Milan that the full brunt of the next wave of invasion fell (1499-1500). Ludovico Sforza, whose young wife, Beatrice d'Este, had made his court the most brilliant in Italy, who had nurtured the prosperity of the Duchy in every way, save that of encouraging the military virtues, fell before Louis XII., because he was obliged to rely upon Swiss mercenaries to defend him. A Switzer betrayed him to the French, and he was led captive across the Alps to die in the castle of Loches, while the French established their rule in Milan. A little later, Louis XII. and Ferdinand I. of Spain (originally King of Aragon) made a secret bargain for the partition of Naples, and successfully dispossessed the last king of the older Aragonese line in the summer of 1501; but in the next year the spoilers fell out among themselves. The French were chased back to Gaëta by the wonderful Spaniard, Gonsalvo de Cordova, who, by the new tactics he adopted, was the first to make the Spanish infantry a formidable power in the wars of

Europe.* At the battle known as the "rout of the Garigliano" the Spaniards achieved the total destruction of the French (1503). Naples was annexed to the crown of Spain, and on the death of Ferdinand without sons in 1516, it passed, with all the other Spanish possessions, into the hands of his grandson, Charles V., who, being also grandson of Maximilian, Emperor-Elect, inherited a domain so vast that Naples sank to the status of a mere province, and was ruled and fleeced henceforth by Spanish Viceroys.

The three Popes who followed each other through the first period of the Invasions—Alexander VI. (1492-1503), Julius II. (1503-1513), and Leo X. (1513-1521)—all attempted to reap their profit from the clash of the stronger powers, and all plunged Italy deeper in the fatal game of foreign wars, alliances, and leagues. Alexander dreaded the coming of Charles VIII., since the French king appeared to be inspired by Savonarolist ideas of Reform and a General Council; but by adroitly flattering the newcomer and providing him with money he pushed him safely on to Naples, and the danger passed. With Louis XII. Alexander had an easier task, for Louis needed his help in the matter of a divorce, and could, therefore, be relied on to pay for it by assisting the schemes of the Pope's son, Cæsar Borgia. Cæsar was duly created Duke of Valentinois and given the hand of a French Princess in marriage, while a detachment of French troops helped him, in 1500-1501, to subjugate the local tyrants of Romagna, and to assert his own claims in that debatable land. Universally suspected as he was of the murder of his elder brother, the Duke of Gandia, Cæsar had recourse to wholesale murder in getting rid of the petty despots of Romagna, but he succeeded in founding no permanent state upon their ruins, for at his father's death his own power crumbled and the great enemy of his house, Giuliano della Rovere, ascended the Papal Chair as Julius II.

Julius left his mark upon Italy in many directions,

partly as the Pope who had the hardihood to pull down old St. Peter's and to lay the first stone of the colossal temple that we know to-day, partly as the bitter enemy of Venice, ready to incur any risk from the foreign armies in order to abase the pride of the Republic. For Venice had, on the downfall of Cæsar Borgia, seized two towns which Julius declared to belong to the Papal Patrimony, and for this reason, after many years' preparation, he launched against her the armies of France, Spain, and the Empire, allied for the purpose in the celebrated League of Cambrai. Venice survived the attack, conciliated the Pope by the surrender of the towns, and presently succeeded in diverting his hatred from herself to France, so that within two years the Pope had organised a new League of Spaniards, Swiss, and Germans to drive the French from Italy. He succeeded so well that even Milan was freed, and a young son of Ludovico Sforza recalled to reign over the much improverished Duchy (1512); but at Florence, whence the Medici were still excluded, the triumph of the Pope's Holy League brought with it the enforced return of a tyranny now little loved. The sack of Prato by the Spaniards opened the way for the re-entry of the two sons of Lorenzo de Medici, of whom the younger, Giovanni (soon to become Pope Leo X.), immediately gathered all the threads of power into his hands. Florence submitted with as good a grace as she could muster, but an under-current of Savonarolist feeling subsisted, to find its vent in the rising of 1527 and the heroic endurance of the Siege.

The French had been driven from Italy, but with the accession of Francis I. and his paladins the tide turned once more, and at the Battle of Marignano Francis reconquered the Duchy of Milan (1515). For six years the French lorded it in the Lombard capital, draining the city of its wealth, and it was only when the election of Charles V. to the Imperial Crown gave a leader to the opposite party that Pope and Emperor

combined once more to expel the French. Leo X., whose famous utterance on his election, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us," set the tone of his whole Pontificate and made it the crowning moment of the Italian Renaissance, foresaw trouble from the activities of a certain monk at the University of Wittenberg, one Martin Luther, and by co-operating with the Emperor against the rebel inclined also to the Imperial side in Italian politics. He had found a native commander of genius in his young cousin Giovanni de Medici, head of the younger branch of the house, and by helping to finance his fine body of troops made possible the taking of Milan from the French in November, 1521. But Leo himself only survived the victory by a few days, and at his sudden death, Giovanni ordered his men to wear mourning for their patron, and so earned for himself the title by which he has gone down to history—*Giovanni delle Bande Nere*. His company was the only body of troops that upheld the honour of Italian arms during these wars, and gave Machiavelli his text for the ceaseless appeal he made, in the last years of his life, for a native Italian militia wherewith to expel the barbarian. But the effort was an isolated one and expired with the death of Giovanni in a wayside skirmish in 1526, leaving Italy still under the heel of her Transalpine masters.

The question whether France or the Empire was to be the final winner in the race was decided on the field of Pavia, in February, 1525, when the superior ability of Charles's generals won the day and the King of France himself was taken prisoner. The whole of Northern Italy as well as Naples was now actually subject to the Imperial armies, though at Milan the last native Duke, Francesco Sforza, showed signs of reaction against his patrons, and endeavoured to organise an Italian League, with French support, to drive them out. Feebly supported by the second Medici Pope, Clement VII., whose petty spirit hindered every

decisive operation, a League was formed in 1526 between Venice, Sforza, and the Duke of Urbino, but this only precipitated the final catastrophe. George Frundsberg and his Lutheran landsknechts descended the Alps in the autumn to chastise both League and Pope, and with the firm intention of hanging the latter. Mutinous and starving, they disobeyed the superior orders of the Viceroy of Naples, bidding them return, and pressed on towards Rome, with the army of the League hanging a day's march in their rear and appearing to be actually pushing them in that direction. They broke in through the Leonine Walls on May 6, 1527, and spread unchecked over the city to murder, sack, and pillage. For seven months Rome suffered every agony at the hands of this bestial horde, and when, at length, Pope Clement had raised the necessary ransom and rode away in disguise to Orvieto, the Rome of the Renaissance lay in ruins behind him. "In Rome," wrote a Spanish captain who had gone through the Sack, "all sins were openly committed—sodomy, simony, idolatry, hypocrisy, fraud. Surely, then, what has come to pass has not been by chance, but by the Judgment of God."

Yet within eighteen months the helpless Pope had made a treaty with his persecutor, Charles V., by which he hoped to repair, not indeed the ravages of Italy, but the fortunes of the Medici family. For Florence had, at the news of the Sack of Rome, cast out the weak Medicean government and returned to the Republican forms devised by Savonarola, and as a Republic she faced her last and hardest trial. Charles V. came in state to Bologna in November, 1529, to decide the fate of the different states of Italy; agreed to give peace to Venice and to Milan, and to allow the last Sforza Duke to return to the latter, on payment of huge indemnities; opposed the Pope's wishes in the matter of certain towns which Clement desired from the Duke of Ferrara; but in that of the chastisement of the insolent burghers of Florence and

the reinstatement of the Medici consented willingly to all that Clement demanded. The Prince of Orange was detailed to command the besieging army—partly composed of the very men who had sacked Rome—and during the winter of 1529-1530 this able leader completed the encirclement of the walls. But the spirit of the Florentines rose to meet every danger. They organised, on Machiavelli's principles, a City Guard of 3,000 young men, trained and commanded by officers from Giovanni's Black Bands, and a militia from the countryside as well; they made Michelangelo Procurator-General of the city walls, and set him specially to devise means for defending the outpost of San Miniato. And outside in the *contado* they had a guerilla leader of genius, Francesco Ferrucci, who harassed the Imperial troops, cut off their convoys, and succeeded in maintaining the food supplies of Florence, so that hope and courage rose high. But the professional leader, Baglione of Perugia, whom the Signory had engaged to conduct the defence, proved faithless; Ferrucci was decoyed away to Volterra, his great depôt of stores seized in his absence and himself overpowered and killed as he tried to return to Florence by the northern hills. Then Baglione treated with the enemy; the Medicean party in the town raised their heads, and the Signory were forced to capitulate (August, 1530). Florence suffered no sack, but Pope Clement was content with nothing less than despotic power for his family, and sent his bastard cousin Alessandro, degenerate representative of the Elder Branch, to bear rule in Florence while the last vestiges of the Republic were extinguished. All around, Italy lay exhausted under native or foreign tyrannies, while the Imperial commanders raised, to overawe the cities, those many-angled fortresses which symbolised the subjection of the land.

CHAPTER VII

ITALY UNDER SPANISH DOMINATION

(1530—1713)

ON the death of the last Sforza Duke in 1535, the Duchy of Milan passed as a lapsed fief to the Empire and was bestowed by Charles V. on his son, Don Philip of Spain. Milan thus became an appanage of the Spanish Crown and the headquarters of the Spanish power in the north, supporting a large garrison of troops and supplying those frequent "donatives" which the Hapsburg Kings of Spain drew in ever larger proportion from their Italian provinces as Drake and the English buccaneers contested their monopoly of American gold. Yet the prosperity of Milan did not wholly decline, for Northern Italy remained immune from war in the later sixteenth century, and the industry of the Milanese made of their city the international mart for arms and, as a Milanese chronicler put it, "For the art and splendour of dress." So the city of Leonardo and of Beatrice d'Este lived on under her conquerors, in tolerable contentment, whereas in Naples, the southern centre of Spanish power, the expedients to which the Viceroy was driven to keep the nobles divided and the mob subservient made of it the most backward and miserable of the states of Italy. The whole gamut of feudal abuses still survived on the vast estates of the nobles, where brigandage flourished in a society that could not maintain itself by ordinary means, since the produce of labour was all filched away by the exactions that enabled the Duke or Baron to live in idleness in distant Naples. Turkish pirates raided the undefended coasts and forced the peasants to withdraw to the hill-towns, while in Naples itself the *lazzaroni* increased in numbers and in squalor and provided, ever and anon, the material for some brief outburst of mob rage

against their rulers. Such was the fierce rising against the attempt of the great Viceroy Toledo, to introduce the Spanish Inquisition in the year 1546—an attempt which neither he nor any subsequent Viceroy ventured to repeat—and such the outbreak, a century later, led by the young fisherman Masaniello against a newly-imposed tax on fruit. This rising developed into a formidable revolt, remarkable for the insistent demand of the insurgents for the *Charter of Charles V.* (granted in 1532), but in the absence of any possible alternative the Spaniards resumed their sway after nine months, and Naples relapsed into its old condition. Yet over all shone the sun of Southern Italy, making life tolerable where otherwise it would have withered, and nursing in the soil certain seeds of revival which were to grow and bear fruit in the eighteenth century.

The part played by the Imperial armies in the final reduction of Florence lent to the restored Medicean rule a decidedly Spanish character, especially since a Spanish garrison was admitted into the newly-built citadel on the northern edge of the city. But on the murder of Duke Alessandro in 1537, a young man rose to power—Cosimo de Medici, son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere—who brought in the new blood of the Younger Branch, and was gladly accepted by the Senate as Duke of Florence. This able youth, having defeated and crushed the leaders of the older Republican party, set himself to create a well-organised despotic state from the scattered materials around him, and in his long reign of thirty-seven years succeeded in forcing Florence through the necessary transition from the mediæval to the modern age. Allowing no voice in public affairs to his subjects, he yet reformed their finances, their courts of justice, their police, and by establishing a national army induced the foreign garrison to retire. Then in 1554 he picked a quarrel with the ancient Republic of Siena, on the ground that she harboured Florentine exiles, and paid and fed the

Imperial army that finally quenched her liberties (1554-1555). Though Siena capitulated to the King of Spain (Philip II.) after a siege that had reduced her population from 40,000 to 10,000, Philip ceded the town with all her territories to his ally, Cosimo de Medici, and so at length the ancient Ghibelline stronghold fell under the yoke of Florence. Cosimo skilfully ordered the administration so as to leave the Sienese the appearance, though not the substance, of liberty, and in later years a member of the Medicean family usually held his court there. "The Sienese," wrote a Venetian ambassador in the seventeenth century, "have always been hostile to the Florentines, but with the Medici they have no feud, and endure their yoke the more readily because they see the Florentines subjected to it also."

The crowning triumph of Duke Cosimo was to acquire from the Pope the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany (1569). He bequeathed it in 1574, together with a peaceful and well-ordered state, to his son Francesco. The Medici Grand Dukes succeeded each other thenceforward from father to son in the Pitti Palace for 160 years, troubled by no movements of revolt and still exercising, at least in the seventeenth century, their traditional rôle as patrons of art and learning. They formed the priceless collections of the Uffizi Galleries; they protected Galileo in his old age, but physically they grew more and more degenerate until they died out in 1737 with the dropsical debauchee, Gian Gastone.

The great Popes of the Counter-Reformation who followed on Clement VII.—Paul III. and IV., Pius IV. and V.—were almost more concerned with European affairs and with the gigantic struggle against Protestantism than with the politics of Italy, and it is not until we come to Sixtus V. (1585-1590) that we find a remarkable Pope exerting the whole force of a determined will to bring some order out of the chaos of the Papal States. For nowhere else in Italy,

not even in Naples, were the principles of taxation so ill understood or the system of justice so corrupt as in Rome and the States of the Church, and the result could be seen in the universal curse of brigandage which lay like a blight over whole regions which should have been prosperous and fruitful. Sixtus attempted to deal with the brigands—who were estimated at 27,000 men—by an energetic system of extermination, but since he left the roots of the disease untouched, the cure was merely temporary. He endeavoured also to reform the finances of the Papacy by his system of loans (Monti), or annuities granted to nominal office-holders in return for a lump sum. This was, in fact, one of the earliest forms of national debt, but the fatal ease with which Sixtus resorted to it soon loaded the Papacy with a burden of debt which it could not carry, so that ever fresh taxation on an impoverished state was required to meet the interest. Far more memorable, however, were Sixtus' attempts to embellish Rome, where he built the Via Sistina, raised the wonderful flight of marble steps from the Piazza di Spagna to the Trinità de'Monti, and pushed on the completion of the dome of St. Peter's. His architect, Fontana, has indeed left his mark over all the central part of the city as we know it to-day.

The successors of Sixtus V. in the seventeenth century were mainly remarkable for their colossal nepotism and for the success with which they founded the princely families whose palaces and villas are familiar to all wanderers in Rome and the Alban Hills. Borghese, Ludovisi, Barberini, Pamfili, Chigi—these are the Popes who founded permanent dynasties, rather than the Borgia and Riario who aimed at sovereign principalities. The first of them, Paul V. (1605-1621) was, however, involved at the outset of his reign in a serious contest with the Republic of Venice on the question of the jurisdiction of the state over criminous clerics, and met with so determined a resistance from the Venetians as compelled the attention

and interest of the rest of Europe. They were led in this matter by the Servite monk, Fra Paolo Sarpi, who encouraged them to defy a Papal interdict and to expel the Jesuits, and as a counterpoise to the Spanish power beyond the Mincio they appealed to France and Henri Quatre and so secured, without war, a settlement which amounted to a resounding victory. Sarpi was attacked by Papal *bravi* next year and left for dead in the streets of Venice, but he recovered and lived to write his well-known history of the Council of Trent and to be honoured as their foremost citizen by the Venetians.

Venice also protected the great Galileo so long as he remained a teacher of mathematics at the University of Padua, but when after his removal to Florence he provoked Pope Urban VIII. (Barberini) by his *Dialogue* on the Copernican System, he found himself cited to Rome and forced to recant his beliefs under threat of torture (1633). This Pope Urban had a passion for constructing great fortifications around the cities of the Papal States, and rebuilt a section of the walls of Rome round the Janiculan, but under the rule of his turbulent nephews Rome herself became as disorderly as in the days of the Borgia, while by his military expenditure and his disastrous war against the Duke of Parma he plunged the Papacy into still deeper debt. When he removed the ancient bronze rain-pipes from the roof of the Pantheon and cast them into cannon he was rewarded by Pasquino's famous epigram: *Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini.*

The Popes of the later seventeenth century were largely occupied with a long-drawn quarrel with Louis XIV. concerning the privileges of the French Embassy in Rome, and in all the picturesque atmosphere of Papal Corsicans and French musketeers a grim trial of strength was waged which developed into something more significant still in the struggle between Louis and Innocent XI. (1676-1689) on the Liberties of the Gallican Church. But while Innocent sustained the

enemies of Louis in distant Holland and England, he was confronted at his own doors, in the vast central tract of Italy known as the States of the Church, by a problem of misery and depopulation which taxed his abilities as a reformer to the utmost. He and the last Pope of the century, Innocent XII. (1691-1700) grappled with it honestly and devotedly: made great economies, reformed the courts of justice, and put down the curse of nepotism; but the wealth squandered by so many generations of Papal nephews and favourites could not be recalled by a few years of reforming zeal. The lands comprised in the far-off *Donation of Pippin* sank into ignorance and destitution almost as complete as those of the Kingdom of Naples.

But in the north-eastern and north-western corners of Italy two vital states remained, one the survival of an age-long hegemony, and the other the cradle of a new and vigorous power. Venice, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, still fought the Turk at intervals and still maintained her ancient constitution, fortifying the rule of Doge and Great Council by the mysterious terror surrounding her Council of Ten and her Three Inquisitors of State. But in spite of heroic efforts her Eastern Empire dropped away from her with the loss of Cyprus in 1571 and of Crete in 1669. Although her veteran commander Morosini overran the Peloponnese in 1687 and blew up the Turkish powder magazine stored in the Parthenon, his triumph was short-lived, for the Turk resumed his steady advance, and had reconquered the whole of Greece by 1716. But Venice at least preserved her liberty and still commanded respect among the states of Europe, although the sources of her strength were surely sapped. The discovery of the Cape route to India by the Portuguese and the orientation of Europe towards America threw Venice out of the great ocean race for trade; but she still dealt in all the products of the Mediterranean and passed them on across the Alps to Austria and Southern Germany.

The story of the Venetian Bailies at Constantinople and of their endless skill in humouring and managing the Turk is the tale of a glorious decline, for therein Venice performed a truly European function and, amid great risks, kept her position and prestige.

The Duchy of Savoy, on the other hand, had only become a truly Italian state with the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis in 1559, when the young Duke Emanuel Filibert earned his right, by winning the battle of St. Quentin for the Emperor, of returning to a state that had long been overrun by French and Spanish troops. He and his French Duchess took up their residence at Turin, and performed for Savoy and Piedmont much the same task of reorganisation and reform which Cosimo de Medici had carried out for Tuscany. Gradually the foreign garrisons were withdrawn, order restored, and a native army created, so that both France and Spain came to woo the Duke's alliance as keeper of the passes into Italy. A long minority in the middle of the seventeenth century, with a civil war between the French and Spanish factions in the ducal family, weakened the dynasty by placing it finally under French influence, so that by the time of the accession of the boy-Duke Victor Amadeus in 1675, Savoy was almost a vassal state to the France of Louis XIV. But it was this Prince—weak and *chétif* in his youth and never of much physical presence—who by his native courage and astuteness carried his little country safely, though at mortal risk, through the wars of the League of Augsburg and of the Spanish Succession, saw Piedmont harried and overrun by French armies, first under Catinat in 1690 and again under Vendôme in 1704, but never, though he constantly betrayed his allies, played false to the interests of his sturdy people. At length, in 1706, he and his cousin, Prince Eugene, inflicted an overwhelming defeat upon the French at the Battle of Turin, and saw the whole of Northern Italy freed from the menace of the Franco-Spanish Empire. Naples also, which had

submitted to Louis' grandson, Philip, on his accession to the throne of Spain (1701), surrendered to an Austrian force claiming the Kingdom for their master by right of descent from Charles V. (1707). At the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 this conquest was confirmed, and Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy reaped his reward by being promoted King, though only of Sicily—an unnatural combination which was amended a few years later by the exchange of Sicily for Sardinia. But Lombardy, though he desired it greatly, remained beyond his reach. It was claimed by the predominant partner in the Grand Alliance, the Austrian Empire, and Milan, as the result of the long war, merely exchanged the yoke of Austria for the yoke of Spain.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE TREATY OF UTRECHT TO THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

(1713—1815)

THE formidable reaction of Europe against the overgrown power of Louis XIV. appeared to have triumphed with the Treaty of Utrecht; but in Italy the adjustment was not a final one, and for another thirty-five years the pendulum continued to oscillate between Franco-Spaniards and Austrians for hegemony in the Peninsula, with Savoy always on the flank of the greater powers, watching for every chance of expansion. The most important result of these dynastic wars was the establishment, in 1734, of a branch of the Bourbon family at Naples, where the old division between Aragon and Anjou lived again in the successful expulsion of the Austrians, lineal descendants of the Aragonese, by the young Don Carlos, son of the French King Philip of Spain, and great-grandson of Louis XIV. The young man's

mother was Elizabeth Farnese, a descendant of Pope Paul III., and a lady of such determined character as to earn her in after years the title of the Terzagant of Spain. But the fact that she was Italian increased the significance of her son's arrival, and disposed the Neapolitans to accept him with more than the usual rejoicings. He established himself without difficulty both in Naples and Sicily, and with the help of his Tuscan minister, Tanucci, applied himself honestly to a mountainous task of reconstruction. During his twenty-five years' reign at Naples (1734-1759) much was accomplished in the reform of the finances and in the relations of Church with State; for Carlos obtained a Concordat from Pope Benedict XIV., which enabled him to put an end to such immemorial abuses as the immunity of the clergy from taxation and the right of asylum and sanctuary (1741). But the fundamental canker of feudalism and all the miseries that flowed from it lay beyond his power to cure, and continued to poison the body politic until, with the coming of King Murat, a more relentless remedy was at length applied.

The Austrian Emperor had only been induced to recognise the Bourbon conquest of Naples on condition that Tuscany should, on the extinction of the Medici line, revert to the Empire, so that when this occurred in 1737 the Grand Duchy was conferred on Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa. This brought in a dynasty that embodied the very spirit of eighteenth-century enlightenment, and Tuscany became, under Francis and his son Leopold, the model state, wherein serfdom and feudal abuses, torture and the death penalty were all abolished, the Inquisition suppressed, and the overgrown religious foundations of the Medici sternly reduced, while the finances were completely overhauled and an annual budget made public. Yet the Florentines but half approved the change and looked with less love upon their patient German Princes than did the Piedmontese

upon their reactionary King Charles Emanuel, son of the great Victor Amadeus, who dragged them through two devastating wars and narrowly escaped disaster many times. But in the end he pushed the frontier of his Kingdom to the River Ticino, within a few miles of Milan (1748), and then for another five-and-twenty years of peace presided over an orthodox and conservative state where the ideas of the French Encyclopædists found no currency. The Inquisition and the Society of Jesus flourished instead, while the male population of Savoy and Piedmont performed evolutions in the barrack squares, almost in the manner of Frederick's grenadiers.

The latter half of the eighteenth century was, however, for the greater part of Italy, a time of peaceful progress and prosperity, when the mental atmosphere cleared after the oppression of two centuries and the revolt of the great monarchies of Europe against the Jesuits was reflected in the victory even at Rome of the anti-Jesuit party, with the issue of the famous Bull of Clement XIV. suppressing their Order (1773). At Naples a revival of letters had begun even under the Austrian occupation (1707-1734), with the work of the great historian Giannone, of the philosopher Vico and of the political economist Genovesi, while the growth and florescence of Italian opera during this century made of the San Carlo Theatre at Naples and of the Scala at Milan centres of music famous not only in Italy but throughout Europe. The comedies of Goldoni still enshrine for us, with flashes of immortal wit, the frivolous life of Venice in this century of her decline, while the "Arcadian Academy," founded at Rome before the end of the previous century, and intended to restore Italian literature to the simplicity of Nature, had been copied in every little capital and had resulted, not, indeed, in a return to Nature, but in the vogue of the wholly artificial cult of the shepherdess. At Naples, King Carlos was busy transforming the slovenly city into

an imposing capital, so that the French traveller, Des Brosses, could write of it in 1741: "To me, Naples is the only Italian city that gives you the feeling of a capital—with the number and movement of its people, the perpetual din of coaches and carriages, its Court, proper in form and brilliant in aspect—the style and magnificence of its nobles—all this contributes to give it an animated and lively exterior, like that of Paris or of London, and totally unlike that of Rome." But he adds that the *lazzaroni*, of whom there were 25,000 who had never learnt to do anything but beg, were "the most abominable canaille, the most disgusting vermin that ever swarmed on the surface of the earth."

Both Carlos of Naples and Charles Emanuel of Piedmont-Sardinia were succeeded by inferior sons, who allowed stagnation to creep once more over the machines of government. But Ferdinand of Naples married, in 1768, Marie-Caroline of Austria, sister of Marie-Antoinette of France, a union that was not without its importance for the future. Still, the fortunes of Piedmont and Naples would probably not in themselves have been sufficient to attract the attention of revolutionary France; it was the possession of Milan by the Austrians that brought the army of General Bonaparte into the Plain of the Po.

The coming of Napoleon into Italy was as the passing of the whirlwind that uproots all the ancient trees, both the sound and the rotten together, that have for so long overshadowed the land. No doubt the prime object of the French was to chastise Austria, the arch-enemy of the Republic; but this was no war of the eighteenth-century type, leaving the life of the people unchanged, whichever standard emerged victorious, but a social upheaval besides of the most far-reaching kind. Napoleon had no sooner established himself at Milan, amid the rejoicings of the populace, than the ancient cities of the Exarchate threw off the Papal yoke and proclaimed their freedom; and when

he advanced into Venetia a party arose in every city there, eager to betray the central government and to uphold the French. Only the terrible efficiency of Bonaparte in plundering the territories that he occupied checked the general enthusiasm, and prepared the way for the reaction of 1799. But at first the "liberator" carried all before him, both in the military and the reforming sense; swept aside and disarmed the Piedmontese; drove the Austrians out of Lombardy and crushed them again and again in the neighbourhood of Mantua; made a swift expedition into the Papal States (February, 1797) and imposed the renunciation of Bologna, Ferrara and all "Romagna" on the astonished Pope (Pius VI.); then passed through Venetia on his way to settle matters with the Archduke Charles on Austrian territory and signed with the latter the Preliminaries of Leoben, making over the Venetian terra-firma to Austria in exchange for Lombardy (April, 1797). A month later the Doge and Senate voted their own extinction, and by the definitive Treaty of Campo-Formio, signed in October of this year, Venice herself, after being occupied by French troops, was formally handed over to Austria. Then Bonaparte returned to France, and was absent from Italy for two and a half years (November, 1797-May, 1800), mainly occupied with the adventure of Egypt; but in his absence French columns marched into Rome and Naples, joyously overturning the Papal and Neapolitan governments and driving King Ferdinand and his Queen into exile at Palermo (January, 1799). Nelson, master of the sea since the Battle of the Nile (August, 1798), could only act as their escort to the island capital. But with the spring of 1799 the tide turned, for Souvaroff's Russians entered Lombardy and drove the French before them, until only Genoa remained in their hands, while the columns from Rome and Naples, hastily recalled, found themselves involved in the general rout. Behind them ruin descended on the Republicans of Naples,

who had deeply compromised themselves by their support of the French, and a brutal *Giunta* carried out the King's vengeance on his subjects, by whip and gallows, while Nelson looked on from the deck of the British flagship. French ideas were at a discount in Italy in the autumn of 1799; but at that moment Bonaparte landed at Fréjus on his return from Egypt; the *coup d'état* of Brumaire made him First Consul and in the spring he planned his famous descent on Italy by the Great St. Bernard.

The victory of Marengo (June 14, 1800) made Napoleon once more master of Italy, and this time his hold was not to be dislodged until the general break-up of his Empire. From the "Cisalpine Republic," his starting-point in the north, his power gradually spread until he had annexed Piedmont to France, crowned himself King of Italy with the Iron Crown of the Lombards (1805), sent his brother Joseph to conquer Naples (1806), made his sister Elisa Grand Duchess of Tuscany and finally expelled the Pope and annexed the Papal States to France (1809). Throughout these vast territories the institutions of the past were uprooted, so far as human ingenuity could do so, and the Italians brought to live under the same uniform system of administration, justice, and conscription. In the north, where Eugène Beauharnais was Viceroy of the Kingdom of Italy proper, the middle-class which had become prosperous under the enlightened Austrian régime of Joseph II., welcomed the "career open to talent," and took its part in local affairs. The Italian regiments, trained at Milan, served with credit in the campaigns of Wagram, Spain, and Moscow. In the south, the two years' reign of Joseph Bonaparte was sufficient to set reforms in motion which, steadily pursued under his successor, Joachim Murat, finally delivered the Kingdom of Naples from the immemorial curse of feudalism.

But here the situation was complicated by the presence, across the narrow Straits of Messina, of the

Bourbon King and his Austrian Queen, harnessed in an uneasy alliance with Great Britain and supported by British troops and a British naval squadron. English subsidies provided Marie-Caroline with means for sustaining a savage brigand warfare against the French in Calabria, until King Murat took the matter in hand in earnest and put down the brigands without mercy. An extraordinary episode of these wars was furnished by the activities in Sicily of the British Ambassador and Commander-in-Chief, Lord William Bentinck, who, finding it impossible to work with the royal couple, supported the Sicilian barons in what was practically a constitutional revolt against them. The Sicilian Constitution of 1812 became famous in after years as one of the battle-cries of the *Risorgimento*, but at the time, Bentinck was disappointed in his hopes that it would regenerate the Sicilian people. Though he deposed the unpopular Queen in a British ship (1813) and himself indulged in an election campaign on the British model through the length and breadth of Sicily, time was not granted to him to complete the education of a people who had shown so pathetic a trust in him and in the "noble English nation." Reaction was at the gates, and as the Napoleonic power waned in 1813 and collapsed in 1814, King Ferdinand pursued his silent march towards the resumption of unfettered power. Bentinck was recalled by the home government, after issuing too bold a proclamation to the Italian people from Genoa, calling on them to rise in defence of their ancient liberties, and Ferdinand was eventually restored to Naples by the Congress of Vienna, with a secret clause binding him not to tolerate within his dominions any institutions "incompatible with the principles adopted by his Apostolic Majesty [the Austrian Emperor] in the government of his Italian provinces." The Sicilian Parliament was therefore

- abolished by a Decree of December, 1816.

As in Naples, so with the rest of Italy. Pope

Pius VII., the "Prisoner of Fontainebleau," returned to Rome in May, 1814, and one by one the same year saw the restoration of the various Dukes and Kings whose thrones Napoleon had emptied. But it was no mere return to the *status quo ante bellum*. The independence of Venice was not restored, for Republics were out of fashion, and the Austrian black and yellow waved over the whole of Northern Italy from the Lagoons to the River Ticino. Still greater was the change in spirit from the easy-going tolerance of the eighteenth century to the black reaction of the Restoration. Toleration and French ideas had led to the Revolution and all the woes that followed in its train; it was now time for the rulers to act together, and to take thought for the safety and welfare of their people. In such a spirit Austrian troops policed the north, and Austrian influence prevailed at the court of every princeling brought back by the Congress of Vienna.

CHAPTER IX

THE "RISORGIMENTO" (RESURRECTION)

(1815—1870)

THE well-known saying of Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, that Italy was "only a geographical expression," was certainly an apt remark when applied to the congeries of little states into which the Peninsula was divided after the Restoration of 1815. In the North the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia shared the Plain of the Po in unequal measure with the Austrian provinces of Lombardy-Venetia; then came the Duchies of Parma, Modena, and Lucca, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Papal States, with their important extension north of the Apennines known as the Legations and Romagna, and finally the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. In all these states it

was the special task of rulers and police to keep the middle-class in check and to prevent the expression of opinion. What wonder, then, if the adaptable Italian character dived underground, and found its principal distraction in the formation of secret societies? The *Carbonari*, introduced into Naples during Murat's time, became a vast network of conspiracy with lodges everywhere, and organised the ill-fated risings of 1820 in Naples and of 1831 in the Papal States; but when these were both put down by Austrian troops, and the hope of French intervention died away, discouragement invaded the ranks of the conspirators. It was then that a new and purer gospel arose with the preaching of the young Genoese advocate, Giuseppe Mazzini, who, imprisoned and then exiled on a charge of carbonarism, founded the society of *Young Italy* (*La Giovane Italia*). Its aim was definite and simple: Independence and Unity; the means a mass-war of the people against Austria. "God and the People" was Mazzini's watchword, self-sacrifice the dominant note of his appeal. He offered the leadership of the whole movement to Piedmont's young King, Charles Albert, in 1831, but Charles Albert was bound by a solemn oath to his predecessor never to change the constitution of the state, and for long years he kept his word. His persecution of *Young Italy*, in fact, waxed so fierce that after an abortive rising a certain young sailor of Nice, Giuseppe Garibaldi, fled with a price on his head to South America, there to learn in a rough and hardy school the priceless art of guerilla warfare. Mazzini, from his sad exile in London, kept bright the faith of *Young Italy*, but other currents also arose, which bade fair as the 'forties advanced to capture the hopes of the ruling classes. These were the *Neo-Guelfism* of Gioberti, the orthodox abbé who looked to see a free federation of Italian states under the primacy of the Pope, and the *Albertism* of the Piedmontese Cesare Balbo, whose book, *The Hopes of Italy*, sought to focus all expectations on

the leadership of Piedmont. All these different lines of thought were to play their part in the drama of 1848-1849, but at first the election of a Liberal Pope, Pius IX, in 1846, seemed to give a decided predominance to the doctrines of the Neo-Guelphs.

It was, in fact, the sudden relaxation of oppression in the Papal States, more than any other single cause, that gave the impulse for the Italian Revolution. "Pio Nono" became in a month the idol of all Italy, and in spite of his obvious hesitation, it was inevitable that the growing enthusiasm for the National Pope should be coupled with growing animosity towards the Austrian. The year 1847 passed amid gathering hopes and fears—hopes of Piedmont and her King and army, fears lest the good Pope should after all join the forces of reaction. Then, with the new year (1848) Palermo rose against her Neapolitan garrison, demanding the *Constitution of 1812*, and cast out the troops after desperate street fighting. The whole of Sicily followed suit, and Ferdinand II. could only forestall a revolution in Naples itself by swearing to a Constitution. Constitutions followed thick and fast in Turin, in Florence, and finally in Rome (March 14), but so swiftly did events move in that month of wonders that these great tidings were soon totally overshadowed by the astounding news that Venice and Milan had both expelled their Austrian garrisons. The feat of the Milanese in overpowering and driving out 15,000 Austrian troops, with Marshal Radetzky at their head, resounded through Europe, but in the neighbouring Piedmont it produced just sufficient dread of the Red Republic to cause the King to hesitate in giving the order to march against Austria. In those few days Radetzky rallied his men and got them safely to the Quadrilateral—the four great fortresses of Mantua, Verona, Peschiera, and Legnago which formed Austria's *tête de pont* at the foot of the Brenner—so that when at length the Sardinian army moved in pursuit it was against a foe prepared at all

points. By August, Charles Albert was back again in Milan, beaten and despairing, and by the truce he signed with Radetzky Milan herself was handed back to Austria.

The King and the Royal army were out of the game for the time, but the war was carried on by Garibaldi and his Legionaries in Rome and by Daniele Manin and his Venetians in the City of the Lagoons. For in November Pope Pius gave up his difficult part and fled to Gaëta, there to take shelter with King Ferdinand, and in his absence Mazzini and Garibaldi came to Rome and proclaimed the Republic. For a few months they showed the world an example of government without violence or party madness, but the Republic's existence was doomed in advance. The Pope's call for help to all the Catholic Powers was answered, to the astonishment of many, by France instead of Austria, for the new President of the French Republic, Louis Napoleon, was anxious to stand well with the French clericals. In April, 1849, a French expedition arrived before Rome to demand re-entry for the Pope. Garibaldi defended the walls about the Gate of San Pancrazio with a picked élite from Lombardy, prototypes of the *Bersaglieri*, but the French were in overwhelming force, and after a month of truce and a month of desperate fighting the Republic surrendered at discretion (June 30, 1849). Garibaldi marched out, threading his way with unerring skill through the encircling forces, but he failed to reach Venice, the goal of his desire. Hunted day and night, he barely escaped with his life, while Venice, which for five months had withstood the Austrian Empire single-handed, surrendered on August 24. Charles Albert had once more tempted fortune and lost all at Novara (March 23); but his abdication in favour of his son, Victor Emanuel, gave a gleam of hope for the future. The young King of Piedmont abode staunchly by the Constitution to which his father had sworn, in spite of much temptation to the contrary, and by so doing

made his little kingdom the one hearth of liberty in a country now re-enslaved from the Alps to Sicily. For Ferdinand II. was supreme once more in the South, and by his brutalities at the re-taking of Messina had earned the name of "Bomba."

Thus the Italian revolution appeared to lie quenched in despair. Austria lorded it once more at Milan, enforcing her will by lash and gallows; the Pope was now influenced in all things by Cardinal Antonelli, a low-born time-server and reactionary; the smaller Duchies, and even Tuscany, were obliged to admit Austrian garrisons. The ex-Ministers of King Ferdinand, who had served him during his brief constitutional period, were now condemned to lie in chains in the island dungeons of Nisida and Procida, but they there came under the eye of an English Conservative Member of Parliament, William Ewart Gladstone, who recorded what he saw in the burning words of the *Letters to Lord Aberdeen* (1851). It was the beginning of England's active sympathy with the cause of Italian liberty. Not in the South, however, but in sober, constitutional Piedmont, were the foundations of Italy's recovery laid in these years of the early 'fifties. There the true leader emerged in the person of Count Camillo Cavour, an aristocrat by birth, detested by his own order for his advanced opinions, and equally distrusted by the populace for his fundamental conservatism; but a man of such transcendent power, such knowledge, capacity and daring, that Piedmont first, and then all Italy, came to lay their burdens upon his shoulders. His long sojourns in France and England during the 'forties had brought him many friends abroad, so that he was sometimes accused of knowing foreign countries better than he knew Italy; his nickname of "Milord Camillo," in fact, covered a certain jealousy. But in his heart there burned the southern fire, so that his friends need not have feared.

In 1852 Cavour became Prime Minister of the sub-

Alpine Kingdom, and though his colleagues complained that he was "as despotic as the devil," he knew that his true function was to educate the Piedmontese in the uses of liberty and to convince Europe that his master, Victor Emanuel, would soon speak and stand for Italy. In 1854 he sent a Sardinian contingent to join the French and English in the Crimea, and by so doing earned the right to draw Europe's attention to the condition of Italy at the Congress of Paris. In 1858 he persuaded Napoleon III., during two days of tête-à-tête at Plombières, that it was in the interests of France to assist Piedmont in expelling Austria from the Lombard plain. He came away with only a verbal pledge, but this was translated into a secret treaty a few months later. How he manœuvred Austria, in April, 1859, into the position of aggressor, so that Napoleon could not evade his obligation, will always remain one of the master-strokes of bold diplomacy. The shade of Victor Amadeus, hovering near, would have smiled to see the French, whom he had outwitted and crushed, pouring over the Alps in battalions and brigades, to help his Savoyards "pluck the Italian artichoke, leaf by leaf." They beat the Austrians at Magenta (June 4th), and just beat them at Solferino (June 24th), but there Napoleon halted. Difficulties were accumulating in his rear, difficulties with his wife, with the French clericals, with Prussia, nor did he relish the news that Italy was rising up on every side, expelling her Dukes once more and clamouring for union with Piedmont. Napoleon had wished instead for a Federation under the Pope. He therefore signed the Truce of Villafranca with the Emperor Francis Joseph, by which only Lombardy and Parma went to Piedmont and the other states were to receive back their former masters. Victor Emanuel accepted it "*pour ce qui me concerne.*" But Cavour broke into furious rage, and Italy never forgave Napoleon III. However, the terms of Villafranca proved impossible to carry out, for France and England made it clear

that they would not tolerate an Austrian invasion of the liberated Duchies, and the Duchies remained staunch for union with Piedmont. In March, 1860, Napoleon, at the price of the cession of Savoy and Nice to France, agreed to the holding of a plébiscite throughout the Centre. The result was an overwhelming vote for annexation to Piedmont.

Then followed that amazing exploit of Garibaldi and his Thousand, when, in the teeth of official (though not serious) opposition from the King and Cavour, the General embarked his handful of ill-armed volunteers in two old ships near Genoa, and set forth to overturn the Bourbon Government in Sicily. Favoured by fortune and the accidental presence of two British ships of war, they landed at Marsala unmolested, marched across the interior, defeating a much superior force of Neapolitans on the way, and on the night of May 27th broke into Palermo. Three days of street fighting, with the more and more effective aid of the population, were sufficient to take all heart out of the Royal garrison, so that on the 30th, when Garibaldi's last cartridge was spent, the British Admiral in the Bay had the pleasure of presiding at the signing of an armistice whereby the Neapolitans agreed to evacuate the island. Ten weeks later Garibaldi crossed the Straits of Messina and was soon driving the Neapolitans before him once more in headlong rout. By September 6th the young King Francis, son of Ferdinand, had fled to Gaëta, and the next day Garibaldi entered Naples, regardless of the Bourbon troops who still garrisoned the forts.

Once more the turn passed to Cavour and the King, for they feared lest the Redshirts should press on to Rome and provoke trouble with Napoleon, whose garrison of French troops still protected the Pope. Risking the wrath of Austria, the Piedmontese Bersaglieri marched through the Papal States, liberating as they went, defeated the *Papalini* near Loreto, and finally joined hands with Garibaldi at a village to the north

of the river Volturno. The Dictator laid his kingdom at the feet of Victor Emanuel and retired to the little island of Caprera, with a sack of seed-corn and a hundred francs for all the reward that he would accept. The South voted, like the Centre, for annexation to Piedmont, and Victor Emanuel found himself King of all Italy—save only Rome and Venice.

How these two were finally united to the rest made a less glorious chapter of *Risorgimento*, for Cavour's guiding hand was lost in 1861, through his too early death, and the lesser men who followed him had much ado to steer a course between the impatience of Garibaldi and his volunteers on the one hand, and on the other the still implacable opposition of France and the Pope to the annexation of Rome. But in 1866 the Austro-Prussian war opened the way to Venice, though the conquests of Garibaldi in the Southern Trentino, off-set by the naval disaster of Lissa, were disregarded at the peace and Italy was obliged to rest content with the bare province of Venetia, leaving an "unredeemed" population both in the Trentino and in Trieste and Istria.

At the end of 1866 the French garrison was withdrawn from Rome in accordance with a Convention signed two years before, but this did not mean that Italy was at liberty to "go to Rome," and when Garibaldi made his attempt in October, 1867, the French returned in force; the volunteers were defeated at Mentana, and Garibaldi himself was arrested at the Papal frontier by Italian troops. For three years more the impossible situation was prolonged, but then the disasters of France made Italy's opportunity, and Sedan opened the way to Rome. To the last the aged Pope refused all negotiation, so that the Italian troops were obliged to batter a way in at the Porta Pia (September 20, 1870). He refused the proffered "Law of Guarantees," and successive Popes have followed his example and have played before Europe ever since the part of "Prisoner of the Vatican."

CHAPTER X

MODERN ITALY

(1870—1922)

Thus the Kingdom of Italy was at length united, amid the sincere rejoicings of England, the grudging acquiescence of Austria, the patronage of Prussia, and, after the fall of Napoleon, the indifferent welcome of unhappy France. The dream of unity and independence was fulfilled, but where was the golden age that the patriots had promised? Italy laboured instead, year after year, through a slough of poverty, debt, and disillusion, with everything to do and inadequate resources with which to do it; with the "rich-proud cost of outworn buried age" there at her feet, and yet no leisure nor peace in which to enjoy it. The task of reconstruction was almost superhuman, demanding large capital expenditure in every department of government—on roads, on railways, on schools, on the whole apparatus of modern civilisation, and demanding, too, a continuance of the race of giants who had made the Risorgimento. But this was denied to the Third Italy; the impulse was exhausted, and the immemorial arts of corruption which had flourished under the Bourbon and the Spaniard fastened on the machine of government and clogged the wheels still further. Parliamentary institutions, which Cavour had used so finely at Turin, became in Rome the sport of sordid interests and of a far-reaching Governmental corruption. Yet, in spite of all, the fundamental tasks were accomplished; railways and roads were built, a national army was organised, brigandage gradually extirpated in the South, and, when poverty still ground down the agricultural labourer, a national movement of emigration was encouraged which took scores of thousands of Italians to seek wealth overseas in North and South America.

But the supreme failure of these first thirty years lay in the want of co-operation between Government and people, due to a fatal lack of perception of the social needs of the time. High taxation of necessities ground down the labourer; high protection made his bread dear, and when he adopted in self-defence the Marxite doctrines of class-war the only reply of the Government was to strike at him in blind terror. When in the early 'nineties the farm-workers of Sicily organised themselves in *Fasci* or Unions, with the object of improving their pitiful conditions of life, the Government sent troops and police against them and finally deported 1,800 of them to what was termed *domicilio coatto* on the rocky islands which the Bourbon Kings had used as political prisons. This was the work of Francesco Crispi, originally an advanced Republican, but a man of powerful will and despotic temper, who rose to power in 1887, and again answered the country's call for a strong man in 1894. Having quelled the unfortunate Sicilians he embarked on a crusade against Socialism throughout the country, using the terror caused by the *domicilio coatto* as a convenient weapon. He then diverted attention from home troubles by embarking on an Abyssinian adventure, and sent an Italian army, ill-equipped for tropical fighting, to find its bloody grave at Adowa (1896). Crispi fell before the universal rage, but the last years of the century were still an unhappy time for Italy, for the instinct of the working-classes to combine was still strenuously opposed by a Government drawn from the Right. A tragedy of errors led to the massacres of Milan of May, 1898, but the demand of the Ministry for special powers of coercion after order was restored produced a prolonged and angry struggle in Parliament, where the parties of the Left at last combined in a stand against the threat of the Government to proceed by Royal Decree if the Chamber refused to pass their measure. A General Election which

largely increased the strength of the Left led to the fall of the reactionary ministry; and the opening of a new reign (that of the present King, Victor Emanuel III.) coincided with the advent to power of the Left, under their sagacious leader, Giovanni Giolitti (1901).

In the meantime the foreign policy of Italy had been mainly coloured by hostility to France, which still disapproved the abolition of the Pope's Temporal Power, and angered Italy in 1881 by announcing the establishment of a French Protectorate over Tunis. Sore at the rebuff, Italian public opinion leant towards the Germanic Powers instead, and in the next year the first draft of the Triple Alliance was signed between Italy, Germany, and Austria. But the price that Austria exacted was the suppression by Italy herself of the Irredentist agitations carried on by Italians in Trento, Trieste, and Dalmatia. Renewed in 1887, the Triple Alliance was then strengthened by a Mediterranean understanding to which England also adhered, and with a growing sense of security against French ambitions, public feeling towards France gradually improved towards the end of the century, especially since it was found that Italian settlers were welcomed in Tunis and were not molested in their language or customs. When, therefore, the long ascendancy of Giolitti and the Left began in 1901, the omens were more favourable both in foreign and internal affairs than they had yet been since the attainment of unity.

For in spite of all the shackles imposed by the backwardness and dire poverty of the Centre and South, by the difficulties of finance and by the still unsolved deadlock with the Church, the sheer labour put into the development of the country was at last beginning to bear fruit. Having no coal, Italy was early driven to exploit her resources in water-power, and her hydro-electric engineers became the foremost in Europe. The Alps were tunnelled by co-operation

with France and Switzerland; every little village in the Apennines began to have its supply of electric light. Thus when Giolitti at length adopted a policy of social reform; when trade unions were allowed and the long-delayed rise in wages took place, the whole country took a step forward in prosperity, which was reflected in the budget surpluses of the new Ministry. In the dozen years before the outbreak of the Great War Italy definitely ranged herself in line with the modern nations in such matters as education, the growth of industrialism, banking and commerce; and incidentally she made trial of liberty and Parliamentary government as the normal conditions of public life. Giolitti eschewed the *domicilio coatto*, but became instead a past-master in the art of political manipulation and jobbery, so that the best men avoided public life and the Chamber commanded little respect among the multitude. The franchise was gradually widened and the behest of the Vatican that the faithful should take no part in elections gradually relaxed through fear of Socialism, but the proportion of those who took the trouble to vote remained in the neighbourhood of sixty per cent.

In 1911 Giolitti was pushed by the Nationalist party into declaring war on Turkey over the question of Tripoli and Cyrenaica—a portion of the North African coast which the Great Powers had always admitted to be of special interest to Italy. Carefully prepared and carried out, the expedition attained its object of expelling the Turks from those regions, while the Italian fleet also seized twelve islands of the Greek Archipelago (the Dodecanese) and held them in pawn pending the fulfilment of certain conditions which have never since been fulfilled. The islands have been definitely annexed since the Great War. A year later the Turks, on the eve of their disastrous struggle with the Balkan States, bowed to the inevitable and recognised the annexation of Tripoli.

In the meantime feeling in Italy had been growing extremely cool towards her Teutonic allies, especially Austria, whose annexation of Bosnia in 1908 had been carried through with cynical disregard for the "compensation" clause of the Triple Alliance. When, therefore, Austria, in alarm at the outcome of the Balkan Wars, sounded Italy in 1913 as to her support in the event of an Austrian attack on Serbia, Giolitti's Government replied bluntly in the negative. A year later, Vienna did not even consult Rome on the ultimatum to Serbia, and when the fatal declaration of war followed, Italy announced her neutrality. Giolitti had by this time been replaced by a Ministry of the Right, under Antonio Salandra (March, 1914), but the majority of the Chamber was still Giolittian, and as the first winter of the War dragged on and a strong current made itself felt in the country for intervention on the side of the Allies, Giolitti and all his followers maintained their Neutralist attitude. But they were overborne by the Italian people, who took matters into their own hands as the spring advanced, resenting the negotiations which Germany's Special Envoys carried on with the Giolittian Opposition behind the backs of the Government. D'Annunzio's orations fanned the flame of enthusiasm for intervention; but the Chamber was still obstinate. Salandra and his Foreign Minister, Sonnino, now determined on intervention, were driven to resign on May 13, but after two days of universal demonstrations the King reinstated them in office and the Chamber bowed to the people's will. On May 20 they voted the necessary credits, and at midnight on May 23, 1915, Italy was at war with Austria.

On the course of Italy's three and a half years of war it is impossible to do more than touch in so brief a survey as the present, but it should at least be said that the impression which prevailed in this country until recently that Italy had not quite "pulled her weight" in the War was founded on very defective

information. As the true figures of Italy's casualties have at length appeared, and the knowledge of those who were in contact with the Army from the beginning has filtered down through wider circles, it has been realised that Italy's sacrifices in men were as heavy, in proportion to population, as those of the British Empire (amounting to over 600,000 dead), and that the dogged tenacity of her peasant soldiers in attacking again and again on the difficult Isonzo front, against a strong enemy amply prepared, was as fine as anything that occurred on the plains of France. By September, 1917, the Italians had pushed on into the hills beyond the Isonzo, at appalling cost, and were preparing a further advance when the Russian débâcle occurred and certain German divisions could be spared to make a thrust at the Italian line. There followed the defeat of Caporetto, when the Isonzo front was pierced and turned, involving the retreat of the Second and Third Armies and the evacuation of the greater part of Venetia. But in those terrible weeks the Italian people rallied behind their men with a grim unanimity unseen since the beginning of the War, and endured privations in food and fuel which were never known in England. Five British and six French divisions were hurried out to reinforce the Piave line, where the Italian troops were halted and reorganised, but they did not come into position till December, and meanwhile the fierce attacks of Germans and Austrians on the Grappa and Asiago plateaus were fought to a standstill by the Italians themselves. In the next year the foreign reinforcements were reduced to three British and two French divisions, but Austria was still obliged to maintain her main army in Italy and could never afford to send reinforcements to the crumbling German line in France. This was Italy's chief service to the Allied cause, and one of vast significance. Finally, in the great advance of the Italian armies known as the Battle of Vittorio Veneto (October 27-31, 1918), the Austrian

Empire went down in irremediable collapse, and Italy swept on to occupy Trento and Trieste. An armistice was signed on November 4, and in Paris next year Italy's claim for the Brenner frontier was confirmed, though President Wilson's objections made it impossible to carry out the Adriatic provisions of the Treaty of London, on which Italy had agreed to enter the War. Since none had foreseen that the War would end in the extinction of the Austrian Empire, and that the Slav lands round the head of the Adriatic would be claimed by a Greater Serbia, a new situation had arisen, and Italy and Serbia were left to settle the knotty problem by direct negotiation. Italy first renounced, in the Treaty of Rapallo (November, 1920) the portion of Dalmatia that had been assigned to her, securing in exchange a defensible frontier on the further side of Istria; and after many vicissitudes the little town and port of Fiume were at length ceded to Italy (January, 1924).

Italy's "natural frontiers" had been attained, but an ardent Nationalist propaganda which raged during the two years after the War refused to admit the fact and led the people to feel instead nothing but an angry discontent with the results of their sacrifices. Add to this the economic distress produced by the depreciation of currency and the rapid rise in prices, leading to constant strikes for higher wages; the poverty of the state, which, in 1920, had a deficit of fourteen milliards of lire, and the spreading-in of Bolshevist ideas from Russia can be readily understood. Communist Councils rose to power in many towns; strikes grew more and more political in tone; the national flag was flouted, officers mishandled in the streets. But the disease produced at length its own remedy in the rise of the Unions or *Fasci di Combattimento*—groups of ex-service men, led by the ex-Republican and Socialist journalist, Benito Mussolini, who waged war impartially on profiteers and Communists and presently established a complete ascen-

dancy in the countryside through the connivance of the authorities at their use of Government arms and lorries. In 1922 the Central Government suffered from a growing paralysis, but when, in October, the "Black-shirts" converged upon Rome for a *coup d'état*, the Prime Minister and Cabinet of the day decided to ask the King for martial law and a "whiff of grapeshot." Victor Emmanuel, however, saw that the country and army were behind the Fascisti, refused to sign the decree, and welcomed Mussolini as constitutional Prime Minister. But he had opened the door to more than a change of government. The Old Italy went down with the March on Rome, and on its ruins a remarkable edifice is now arising, compounded of many qualities and many public virtues, but in which respect for liberty and toleration of opponents have no place. The *domicilio coatto* is once more an ordinary weapon of the state; the Press is gagged, Parliament reduced to complete subservience, while opponents are terrorised by the fear of the unpunished bludgeon. But, on the other hand, order has been restored and a spirit of loyalty and ardour generated which has swept out many corrupt corners of the old administration. The experiment of the Corporative State is now being tried, and to a people that have produced the Roman Empire, the Catholic Church, and the Italian city-states all things may be possible when they enter once more on the path of political experiment. Fascism is a challenging doctrine, provoking in its own home either fervent devotion or bitter hatred, but we in this slower atmosphere can afford to watch it without passion, and to wish well in any event to the gifted race that has produced it.

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THE PAPACY

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THE PAPACY

CHAPTER I

THE PAPAL OFFICE

THE present Pope, Pius XI., is the two hundred and sixty-second of his line. Considered simply as an historic succession of sovereigns, the Papacy is the most venerable dynasty that the world has ever known. No *imperium* of the past has exercised so profound and so lasting an influence upon the course of human affairs; none has so consistently defied those laws of growth and subsequent decline, which seem to govern the lives of human institutions, as of human individuals. The story of its past is scarcely less than the history of a civilization.

The word "Pope" derives from a Greek colloquialism, and means simply "father." The earliest instance of its application to the Bishop of Rome is found on an inscription dating from the time of Pope Marcellinus, who died in 304. Before that time no Bishop of Rome is addressed as Pope in any correspondence or other record that has survived to the present day. The title was not officially adopted by a Roman bishop until the latter part of the fourth century, when Siricius (384-398) is found using it in correspondence. In the eleventh century Gregory VII. reserved its assumption and use exclusively to the occupant of the See of Rome.

During the early centuries, the appellation "Pope" was applied to and used by prominent bishops and teachers of the Church as a term expressive of special respect and of affectionate veneration. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, refers to his predecessor in that office as "our Pope, the blessed Heraclas." St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, and St. Augustine were frequently addressed as Pope by people who wrote to them. "So you are the Pope of these sacrilegious sectaries!" said the Roman magistrate at Carthage, when St. Cyprian was brought before him. As late as the seventh century St. Gall applies the title to the Bishop of Cahors. At the present time each and every priest of the Eastern Orthodox Church calls himself Pope, and is so called by his flock. The Greek Patriarch of Alexandria officially entitles himself "Father and Pastor, Pope and Patriarch, Father of Fathers, Pastor of Pastors, Bishop of Bishops, Thirteenth Apostle, Judge of the Universe"—a very resounding *exordium* to the episcopal pronouncements! But, at any rate, the point to be here noted is that the word "Pope" has no special significance in itself, though in the English form it has never been applied to any person other than the Bishop of Rome.

For the purposes of the present study, then, the Pope is defined as that Christian priest who, according to the belief of the Church over which he presides, unites in his person the following offices:

1. Bishop of Rome.
2. Metropolitan of the Roman province.
3. Primate of All Italy.
4. Patriarch of the West.
5. Supreme Pastor of the Catholic Church.

Herein is the real essence of the Papal office and the ground of all controversy concerning it. All Christian bodies not in communion with Rome, whatever may be their differences of belief in other articles of faith, are agreed in repudiating the Papal claim to supreme spiritual jurisdiction. More especially are they agreed in denial of its necessary implication, the belief in Papal infallibility. On the other hand, nobody would dispute the Pope's claim to the first four titles enumerated above. They are all, so to say, topographical, and in most countries there is a bishop or archbishop who holds corresponding offices. Thus New York is a Metropolitan See; Venice, Lisbon, and Jerusalem are patriarchates; Toledo and Armagh are primacies. But Rome is unique, the capital city of Catholicism. When people speak of the Roman Church, they are not usually thinking of the Diocese of Rome. The Roman Church, as everybody understands the term, refers to the whole body, numbering some three hundred million members and disposed under some fifteen hundred bishoprics, over which the Pope presides as supreme pastor.

It is, perhaps, possible in historical writing to make rather a fetish of impartiality. The most impartial histories are too often the dullest. Nevertheless, it remains true that a suave and restrained manner of exposition is one of the first qualities in all good history. In the case of the Papacy, of course, much of the historical background is a matter of controversy, and issues are introduced which are only proximately historical. The first four centuries of Christian history have long been a great battle-ground of controversy. The ground has been, as it were, ploughed up by the rival bombard-

ments of scholars; one picks one's way cautiously between academic shell-holes; artillery-fire of heavy calibre has levelled landmarks to the ground, and only the expert can recognize them; one is sniped from unexpected quarters.

Again, claims are made concerning the nature of the Papal office which, if admitted, make the Papacy quite unique amongst human institutions. You cannot write adequately of the Papacy without mentioning, for instance, Papal infallibility; and you cannot, from the nature of the case, write of Papal infallibility without being controversial. On the purely historical side, of course, it is quite different; but the historical is only one side, and in the present study we wish to touch, however briefly, upon both.

It may be said at once that an exhaustive examination of disputed points is plainly out of the question in the space at our disposal. All that we can do, in discussing debatable questions, is to make it clear that they are debatable, and, when possible, to summarize briefly the line of argument adopted by the respective parties to the dispute. Happily the old "Giant Pope" sentiment is almost a thing of the past; to-day, in its traditional form, it is found only in certain remote rural districts in Northern Europe and in the swamps and backwoods of the United States. That is all to the good. For the most part these controversies, always vigorous and occasionally acrimonious, are to-day conducted upon a more dignified plane of reasoned debate.

That the Pope, as Bishop of the only surviving See of apostolic foundation, would be entitled in a united Christendom to a certain primacy of honour—that

upon him would naturally fall the duty of convening General Councils and of presiding (in the capacity of chairman) at their sessions, that he would occupy a primatial position amongst the Christian bishops—these things are conceded by many who are not in present communion with the See of Rome. Such prerogatives are regarded as proper and natural to the most venerable bishopric in Christendom. But it must be noted that the basis of Catholic belief is wholly different from this, and derives only in a proximate manner from questions of geography or history. The primacy belonging to the Pope is held to belong to him *jure divino*, by divine ordinance. It is held to belong to him in virtue of the special charge laid upon St. Peter by Christ, who was the founder and who is the head of the Church. Upon St. Peter was the Church founded; to St. Peter and to his successors in the Roman bishopric is held to belong this supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction.

The argument is usually developed upon some such lines as the following :

It is premised that the functions of the Church are to preserve intact, to interpret, and to propagate that revelation of supernatural truth which Christ came upon earth to give. The Church, therefore, has a definite teaching mission; and if such teaching is to assert its quality of revelation, it must be given under some guarantee of inerrancy. In so far as any supernatural religion claims to be revealed, it must necessarily profess to be infallible—that is, true. If it be too difficult for ordinary people to grasp, if it is susceptible of many interpretations (mutually contradictory), if it can advance its basic assertions only as

matters of opinion (probably, but not certainly true), then, so far as this quality of revelation is concerned, it might just as well go out of practice altogether. Hence, in order that a religion professing to be divinely revealed should have its true value to later generations, it is essential that the agent of its transmission should be able to interpret and expound the message itself, and should be able to do so with authority. Precisely this claim is made, and has always been made by the Church. You get it in the very earliest times, immediately after the first day of Pentecost. "It hath seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us," said the Fathers at Jerusalem, in an almost matter-of-fact manner. Before the end of the first century, St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, urges obedience to "those things which we have written to you by the Spirit." Instances could be multiplied.

Now the Catholic belief concerning the Papal office is this: The Church, as the appointed guardian and teacher of the Faith, is protected under Providence from error in the interpretation thereof. As learning accumulates and the domain of knowledge expands, the necessity arises of greater precision, fuller explanation, more exact definition. It is not a matter of adding anything to the revelation, but of clarifying, and thereby excluding wrong interpretation. The Church can add nothing, but only explain and define more precisely as occasion arises. This power of definition is vested ultimately in the Papal office. When the Pope, speaking in his capacity as supreme pastor of the Catholic Church, defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole Church, then "by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed

Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed," that definition is held to be infallibly true.

Such is the doctrine of Papal infallibility, defined by the Vatican Council in 1870—itself, of course, a clarification concerning the nature of the Papal jurisdiction. The exercise of infallibility is strictly circumscribed. No pronouncement made by the Pope as a private person is considered within the definition. As a statesman, an author, a legislator, the Pope is as fully liable to error as anyone else. He is endowed with no personal quality of inspiration. He may be wrong as an individual theologian, as were Honorius I. and John XXII. In short, if any of the conditions named above are unfulfilled, then a Papal pronouncement may or may not be true, but it is in no sense binding upon the conscience. The infallible *magisterium* is, so to say, official and not personal. None of the greatest doctors and theologians of the Church have been Popes.

So much in brief summary of a highly controversial question. By those who do not accept them the Papal claims are opposed on the ground that they are both unscriptural and unhistorical. It is urged that the elaborate organization and jurisdiction of the modern Papal sovereignty are nowhere adumbrated either in the Gospels or in the canonical books of the New Testament. This argument is countered by an appeal (a) to a more careful and critical examination of the Biblical texts themselves, and (b) to what is usually called the idea of development, first expounded by St. Paul. The acorn grows by a natural development into the oak-tree; the child becomes a full-grown man.

Functions multiply; the organism becomes more complex; there is physical and mental expansion. Yet continuity is preserved throughout; developments are natural and legitimate. In like manner (it is pointed out) the more explicit declaration of Papal powers and the more detailed jurisdiction exercised by the Papacy are natural concomitants of the expansion of the Church and the added complexity of its organization. To this the critic replies by suggesting the possibility of false developments, of one-sided or exaggerated growth in certain directions; he points to circumstances of history and geography which tended to give a fortuitous importance to the Roman bishopric—an importance which the Popes were quick to consolidate and to exploit.

The question, accordingly, resolves itself into a further discussion as to how far the Papal sovereignty, as defined by the Vatican Council, is to be recognized as implicit in the actions and position of the Holy See in earlier times, and more particularly in the first five centuries of the Christian era. To these problems historical criticism is clearly unable to provide a final solution. History is not, after all, an exact science; it will demonstrate, but it will rarely establish. Each student will focus a certain set of objects, and will see others with genuine difficulty. According to a man's vision will he witness the pageant of history. Let us give one or two illustrations of the kind of thing that we have in mind.

"It is said," wrote Cardinal Manning, "'Yes, but the primacy of Rome has been denied from the beginning.' Then it has been asserted from the beginning! Tell me that the waves have beaten upon the shore,

and I will tell you that there was a shore for the waves to beat upon."

Again, as early as the year 96—within the lifetime of St. John, and before the Fourth Gospel was written—we get what Bishop Lightfoot called "the first step towards Papal aggression," and what a Catholic would call the natural assertion of the Roman primacy; the case in point is St. Clement's famous letter to the Church at Corinth. St. Cyprian's *De unitate* has proved itself a double-edged sword in the discussion; so have the writings of Vincent of Lerins. These are one or two points in an age-long and highly specialized controversy, whose terms can, however, be stated very simply. The question ultimately at issue is this: Since Christ founded a Church which was to endure for all time as the guardian and teacher of His revelation, where is that Church to be found to-day, and by what signs may it be recognized? But history gives no cut-and-dried answer to these things. Knowledge is the defence, but not the measure of revelation; and, after all, not all of the saints of this world have been students of history.

In the administration and government of the Catholic Church the Pope is assisted by a number of departments or ministries which are collectively described as the Roman Curia, and are directed by members of the Sacred College of Cardinals. In 1586, Sixtus V. fixed the maximum number of cardinals at seventy, of whom six were to be Cardinal-Bishops, fifty Cardinal-Priests, and fourteen Cardinal-Deacons. In practice the Sacred College is rarely at full strength; at the present time it numbers sixty-four members. The six Cardinal-Bishops are resident in Rome, and

occupy the six suffragan Sees of the Roman Diocese. Of the Cardinal-Priests, thirty-three occupy archbishoprics or Metropolitan Sees in various parts of the world; thus Cardinal Hayes is Archbishop of New York, Cardinal Bourne is Archbishop of Westminster. The remaining Cardinal-Priests reside in Rome, and are known as Cardinals of the Curia. But each Cardinal-Priest has nominal or titular charge of one of the parish churches of Rome; and it is from this office that his title derives. Thus Cardinal Dubois is Archbishop of Paris; but his cardinalate derives, not from his archbishopric, but from the fact that he is Cardinal-Priest-in-charge of Santa Maria-in-Aquiro, Rome.

When the Papal office falls vacant, the task of choosing the new Pope lies with the assembled College of Cardinals. No Pope can appoint his own successor.

The last important reform of the Roman Curia was undertaken by Pius X. in 1908. Benedict XV. made one or two further adjustments in 1917. In that year, for instance, the Congregation of the Index was suppressed, and its duties were transferred to the Congregation of the Holy Office. The Roman Curia, as at present constituted, comprises twelve Congregations, three Tribunals, and four Offices of Curia. In addition must be included the various standing commissions and commissions of Cardinals—for historical studies, for the codification of the Canon Law, for the revision of the Vulgate, and so forth—and that body of persons officially known as the Pontifical Family.

The following are the twelve Congregations :—

1. The Congregation of the Holy Office.
2. The Congregation of Consistory.

3. The Congregation of the Sacraments.
4. The Congregation of the Council.
5. The Congregation of Religious Orders.
6. The Congregation of Propaganda (*i.e.*, of missionary work).
7. The Congregation of Rites.
8. The Congregation of Ceremonial.
9. The Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs.
10. The Congregation for Seminaries, Universities, and Studies.
11. The Congregation of the Oriental Church.
12. The Congregation for the fabric of St. Peter's.

In most cases the functions and duties of these bodies are sufficiently adumbrated by their titles. The Holy Office, originally known as the Roman Inquisition, received the status of a Congregation in 1558. It is charged with the general safeguarding of the Faith and of the Church's ethical teachings, and performs the duties formerly belonging to the Congregation of the Index. The Congregation of Consistory, founded by Sixtus V. in 1588, is entrusted with the general oversight of dioceses throughout the world (except in missionary countries, which concern the Congregation of Propaganda), with the appointment of bishops, the creation of new dioceses, and many other matters. Processes for canonization or beatification of saints are examined by the Congregation of Rites. The Congregation of the Oriental Church is the newest foundation of any; it was brought into existence by Benedict XV. in 1917, and deals with all matters relating to those Uniate churches who do not use the Latin rite.

There are, as we have noted above, three Tribunals of the Curia. They are :

1. The Apostolic Penitentiary.
2. The Sacred Roman Rota.
3. The Apostolic Signatura.

The first of these tribunals is under the direction of the Cardinal Penitentiary, who is appointed by special Papal brief. It is this officer who, at the opening of a Jubilee year, offers to the Pope the golden hammer, with which the Holy Father knocks three times upon the *porta santa* of St. Peter's. Since 1917 the tribunal possesses jurisdiction in all matters relating to the granting of indulgences. It deals with all questions of conscience submitted to the judgment of the Holy See. It is chiefly, as Benedict XV. declared, a tribunal of mercy; and in view of the essentially intimate and personal character of its work, it very naturally preserves the strictest secrecy concerning all its actions and findings.

The Sacred Roman Rota judges all contentious cases which come before the Holy See and require a full judicial process; it is also the first court of appeal above the episcopal courts. The officers of the Rota, who are known as auditors, are appointed by the Pope and must hold doctorates both of theology and canon law.

The Apostolic Signatura is the supreme ecclesiastical court of appeal. It was completely reorganized by Pius X. in 1908, and at the present time has competence in all appeals or petitions against sentences of the Rota and in all accusations against auditors.

Finally, we come to the four Offices of Curia :

1. The Apostolic Chancery.
2. The Dataria.
3. The Camera.
4. The Secretariat of State.

The Chancery, one of the oldest of the Curial departments—it dates from the twelfth century,—and the Dataria are together concerned with the despatch and expedition of all bulls and briefs issued under the direction of the Pope and the Congregations. It is rather interesting to note that, from quite the beginning of the Middle Ages, the notaries of the Papal Chancery developed a highly characteristic script, which makes a medieval Papal document as unmistakable as are, for instance, the documents of the English Exchequer during the Plantagenet period. An Archbishop of Tours in 1075 was quite unable to decipher a Papal brief directed to him, because it was written in “*littera Romana*.” It was largely upon the “*Cancelleresca*” hand, used by the Papal Chancery in the fifteenth century, that the early Italian printers based their first experiments in italic type. The medieval Papacy, like the Chancery of the Emperors, issued its official documents under a seal cast in metal and not in wax; these metal seals, which were called *bullæ*, were considerably smaller than the waxen seals used by most of the royal chanceries. This, by the way, is the derivation of the term “bull,” as applied to a Papal document.

The Apostolic Camera is charged, under the constitution of Pius X., with the administration of the temporal property of the Holy See.

The Secretary of State is the most important minister of the Curia, and, apart from the Secretary for Briefs, is the only Cardinal who has his residence in the Vatican buildings. The office, as at present defined, is of no great antiquity; it was set up by Innocent XII. in 1692. But, in so far as the Secretary

of State lives in constant and intimate communication with the Pope, and acts as his confidential assistant in all matters relating to ecclesiastical administration and all matters determining the relations of the Papacy with the civil governments of the world, he inherits a much longer tradition. The great Hildebrand, before himself acceding to the pontifical throne as Gregory VII., acted in the capacity of Secretary of State to all the six Popes who preceded him. St. Charles Borromeo filled the same office during a scarcely less critical period of ecclesiastical history. Under the present constitution the office is held only during the reign of the Pope by whom the appointment to it was made; each newly elected Pope chooses his Secretary of State. It was, therefore, something of a precedent and a unique tribute to a great scholar and statesman when Pius XI., on his accession, invited Cardinal Gasparri to continue in the office which had been his during the previous pontificate. The Cardinal has been Papal Secretary of State since 1914.

History, we have said, will demonstrate, but will rarely establish. The statement is, perhaps, too absolute. For in one field historical demonstration is of its nature negative and not positive. No article of religious belief (Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, or any other) will ever find positive demonstration in history. The most that history will give is the negative demonstration that that article of belief is at least tenable, that it does not conflict with known or ascertainable fact. Thus, one will search history in vain for any positive confirmation of Catholic belief concerning the nature of the Papal office; the most that the apologist can expect to establish is that the

Papal claims, confronted by the facts of history, are not inconsistent with those facts. His gesture is essentially defensive; he becomes an apologist only under provocation. All historical controversy concerning the Papacy has centred on incidents and actions, a certain interpretation of which would render an article of faith untenable. Cases in point are the Isidorian Decretals, the confession of Liberius, and the condemnation of Galileo.

For history, as Lord Acton said, reposes upon documents, not upon opinions; and history is not theology. In any treatment of the Papacy one must be prepared to recognize a distinction, which is perhaps an arbitrary one, between the two aspects under which it presents itself. On the one hand, it is a spiritual *imperium*, claiming to exercise an authority which is not wholly of this world; on the other, it is a sovereign dynasty, whose history is to be investigated like that of any other. In this chapter we have thought it well to summarize one or two points under the former head; for the title of this sketch is "The Papacy," and not simply "The History of the Papacy." In the chapters which follow, our treatment will be exclusively historical.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES

AMONGST the scattered and hard-pressed Christian communities of the early centuries, the Roman Church rapidly came to occupy a certain pre-eminence. In the first place, with the great influx of Jews into Rome after the sack of Jerusalem in the year 70, Christianity began to make converts amongst the rich patricians and servants of the imperial Court; and the Roman community quickly became the richest and probably the largest of the Churches. It was the most formidable of all these early Christian bodies; and for this reason it was the most severely persecuted. It was established in the capital city of the Empire beneath the very eye of the authority which had declared Christianity an illegal cult; as early as the time of Domitian it had members who were amongst the highest and wealthiest in the city. Outbursts of violent and organized persecution were sporadic, but for two and a half centuries a policy of steady repression and hostility was adhered to; and, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, twenty-nine out of the first thirty Popes laid down their lives for the Faith. In that heroic list of names each biographical note ends with the terrible yet triumphant words: "He received the crown of martyrdom." Pontian, condemned and exiled, died amongst the convicts in the pestilential mines in Sardinia; Fabian was beheaded in the Decian persecution; Cornelius, worn out by privation, died in exile.

At the beginning of the second century St. Ignatius of Antioch described the Roman Church as "presiding over the league of love"; a lifetime later St. Irenæus referred to her "particular pre-eminence." We need not here involve ourselves in the endless controversies concerning the bearing of these texts on the spiritual jurisdiction exercised by the Roman bishopric over the other communities. All that need be noted is that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Roman Church naturally came to occupy a sort of maternal position among the other Churches. If there was a Mother Church during the second and third centuries, it was at Rome—certainly not anywhere else. The charity of the Roman Church was traditional; of her relative abundance she gave freely to less fortunately situated brethren. Eusebius has preserved portions of a letter from Pope Soter to the Church at Corinth, with which was sent a sum of money for the relief of the poor and of Christians condemned to hard labour in the mines. In the middle of the third century the Roman Church, as we learn from a letter to the Bishop of Antioch, supported more than fifteen hundred widows and destitute persons. •

The Christian Church, in fact, rapidly, deliberately, and finally shifted its centre of gravity. This is a very remarkable phenomenon. After the first half-century Jerusalem never occupied in Christian administration the place that was later to be occupied by Mecca in the Mohammedan world. Yet Jerusalem was as certainly the birthplace of the one religion as Mecca was of the other. The transference took place under the converging force of a variety of circumstances. The Jewish and Christian communities of Jerusalem

were scattered far and wide by the edicts of Vespasian; the Christians were conscious of the necessity of differentiating themselves from the Jews, with whose religion the Christian Faith was invariably identified by the Roman Government for many years; Rome was the hub of the Empire, and its Christian community had been founded by the two most illustrious apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. Yet, after all, St. Peter had founded Antioch; St. Paul had founded Corinth and Ephesus, both great cities; the line of the bishops of Jerusalem, starting from St. James, was not interrupted by the destruction of that city. It is impossible wholly to account for the phenomenon on these lines.

On the other hand, it is true that almost all the heresies of the first two or three centuries were Judaistic in tendency, seeking to re-anchor the Church to its Jewish foundation and its Old Testament theology, seeking to minimize the Christian revelation, and to restore Jewish ritual and practice—the Jewish Sabbath, circumcision, and the like. The Montanist heresy, for instance, was in a large degree an attempt to recentralize the Church on Jerusalem. The ascetic Ebionites used to turn towards Jerusalem when they prayed, as the Mohammedan faces Mecca. Against these Judaizing movements, whose success would have meant so serious a narrowing of the Gospel message, the Church had constantly to be on the alert.

It is not to be urged, of course, that during these three centuries up to the Peace of the Church the Roman bishopric exercised any such detailed and regular jurisdiction over other Churches, as was later exercised by a Hildebrand or an Innocent. The whole

thing was relatively nebulous and undefined. Probably you would not find during this period (*i.e.*, up to 313) more than twenty or twenty-five instances wherein a Bishop of Rome addressed the whole Christian body throughout the Empire on some point of faith or observance, or pronounced on a disputed question. Usually his decision is accepted, but by no means always. Unanimity as to the proper time for celebrating Easter was not reached until the Council of Nicæa, although Pius I. (or more probably, Anicetus) and Victor had pronounced in the matter, and anticipated the judgment of the Council. But, vaguely or clearly—and apologists on either side will always differ as to the degree of vagueness or clearness—temporally or spiritually, it remains manifest that some kind of special prestige attached to the Roman bishopric. When they asked the pagan Emperor Aurelian to decide which of two claimants was the real Bishop of Antioch, the sovereign simply asked which of them was in communion with Rome.

Those three centuries during which Christianity, emerging from the utter obscurity of a distant colony, advanced to become the faith of the whole Empire from the Tweed to the Tigris, were centuries of intense concern with the things of the spirit. There were innumerable religious movements of every description, and they all found adherents in Rome. In the majestic background was the official creed, the acknowledgment of "Divus Cæsar," on whose altars all men must sacrifice—a creed in which everyone, except Jew and Christian—acquiesced as part of their civic duties, a creed which was covertly ridiculed by philosophers; whose ceremonial was under State

management, and in which few professed any serious belief. For the rest, it was almost a matter of *tot homines, quot sententiæ*. There were austere Stoics and pleasure-seeking Epicureans. The mystical Egyptian cults of Serapis and Isis had become enormously popular. The horrible and obscene rites of which Augustine speaks in his *City of God* were widely practised; there were abstruse philosophical systems, scrapings of the Greek genius, seeking to solve the riddle of the universe; perhaps most widespread of all there was Mithraism, particularly popular in the imperial armies, who had made contact with it in the Persian campaigns. It was a form of sun-worship, and we know that at the end of the third century there were about sixty Mithraic chapels in Rome. As late as 390 the revolting ceremony of the Taurobolia or Blood-bath was celebrated upon the Vatican hill; Mithraism died hard in Rome.

All these religions were perfectly legal and fully recognized by the State, which only stipulated that you should duly sacrifice at the proper intervals upon the altars to the god-emperors. Christianity remained proscribed; for manifestly no Christian could, without flagrant denial of the Faith, offer worship to the unreal gods set up by others. It would be an exaggeration to say that the Roman Church did not emerge from the catacombs until the time of Constantine; but it is certain that right up to the end of the third century the Bishop of Rome did not live within the city; the centre of ecclesiastical administration was outside the walls, on the Appian Way. There is no need to deduce from this that the Christian community of the third century was still a despised or poverty-

stricken minority. We are not far from the days of Damasus when the Roman bishop was to appear in the most splendid trappings of pomp and honour. Christianity had many converts in the highest places of imperial administration, and in the most intimate positions on the personal staff of the Emperor. As early as the year 190 Marcia, a wealthy lady of the Court, secured from the Emperor Commodus an order of release for all Christians working in the Sardinian mines; and Pope Victor supplied the official list of the persons affected by the generous decree. But the Church was still an illegal society in the eyes of the State; and the manner of its treatment depended very largely upon the personal attitude of the Emperor. Some, either through indifference or genuine kindness, were content to turn a blind eye to the Church's existence and expansion, to enforce no penal statutes unless there was definite provocation; others, animated by blind hatred or genuine apprehension for the security of the State, threw the whole force of the administrative and penal machinery against the Christian communities.

The wave of Orientalism, of which Mithraism and the other Eastern cults were but symbols, was adroitly turned to account to revive the rather moribund prestige of the Emperor's person. Aurelian initiated and Diocletian, the arch-enemy of the Church, attempted to complete the transformation of the Roman Empire into an Oriental despotism. Diocletian proclaimed his own apotheosis and governed the Empire not from Rome, but from Nicomedia in Asia Minor. By the end of the third century the Roman Senate had sunk into the position of a mere town

council. During a terrible two years the final attempt was made to crush the Christian Church out of existence. But the dawn was at hand. In 312 Constantine routed Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge and entered Rome in triumph. In the following year the Edict of Milan gave peace to the Church; on October 2nd Pope Melchiades held a council in the Lateran buildings, which had been presented to the Church by the new Emperor. The most stupendous revolution in history was accomplished. The brief experiment of the god-Emperor had failed. The Empire had become Christian, and the Papacy was upon the Lateran Hill.

The new era may be said to open with the Council of Nicæa. It was summoned in 325 by the Emperor Constantine, primarily in order to settle a dispute between the Bishop of Alexandria and one of his deacons, Arius by name. Over three hundred bishops assembled, almost all of whom were Easterners. There were only four bishops from Western Sees; the Pope was not present, but was represented by two canons. This is not the place to enter into an examination of the intricacies of the Arian heresy, which was later to come far nearer to destroying the Church than had Nero, Decius, or Diocletian. The controversy turned on the precise relationship of the human and divine natures in the Person of Christ. Arius found a solution in denying His perfect divinity, and saying that He had been created by the eternal Father; He was not, therefore, perfect God, but only a sort of emanation. The Fathers of Nicæa, making use of a term employed by Pope Dionysius in an earlier controversy, condemned this Arian doctrine, asserting that our Lord was, as to His divinity, "consubstantial" with

the Father. The difference between the two positions was, of course, fundamental. An Arian Christ, if one may use the term without irreverence, would have been simply a variation on Apollonius of Tyana or any of a dozen other contemporary revivalists and wonder-workers. The Council's decision against Arius was almost unanimous.

Constantine was himself baptized on his deathbed by an Arian bishop. His immediate successors came forward openly as champions of Arianism. This was, perhaps, natural; for Arianism was essentially an Eastern cult, an attempt to make Christianity into an Oriental mystery religion like any other, and it had spread with great rapidity in the years following Nicæa. Moreover, the idea that it belonged to the Emperor to prescribe the faith of his subjects was still a commonplace of political administration. The swaying fortunes of the long struggle between Arianism and orthodoxy were, then, largely conditioned by the personal preferences of the respective emperors; and in the Eastern Churches the faith was saved by one man, Athanasius. The success of the Emperor Constantius in imposing Arianism upon the Empire may be gauged by the fact that at midsummer in the year 355, there was not a single bishop in possession of his See who had not subscribed to the exile of Athanasius and the virtual repudiation of the decisions of Nicæa. A small handful of bishops had remained firm under the most violent persecution to which an Arian Empire had subjected them. One was the veteran Hosius; another was Pope Liberius, who was promptly exiled; a third was the great Athanasius, five times exiled from his See by the State, hunted like

a wild beast from end to end of his diocese, seeking refuge when things became too warm even for him amongst the hermits of the Eastern desert, yet returning constantly to renew the conflict for the faith and triumphing finally in the peaceful occupation of his See. In 379 Theodosius I., a Spaniard, became sole Emperor; Arianism was a spent force.

Pope Liberius seems to have purchased release from the privations of exile by signing some document which satisfied the Emperor Constantius. The exact contents of this document are not known; indeed, its very existence has been questioned. All that we do know is that it did not involve a repudiation of Nicæa, but that it did involve a throwing-over of Athanasius. The latter says that Liberius signed under threat of death. It seems certain that nobody in Rome knew anything about the affair during Liberius' lifetime, nor did the Pope himself ever make any reference to it. But his later years in the Papal office showed him as staunch as before his exile.

By this time the Bishop of Rome had become one of the most important figures in the Roman world. His bishopric was probably the richest in Christendom; and when Pope Damasus asked the prefect of the city whether he would become a Christian, the latter smilingly replied: "Willingly, if you will make me Bishop of Rome!" Those historians who write as though the Papacy suddenly stepped into the shoes of the civil government in the year 476, suddenly became rich and respected, suddenly started to govern the Church, are almost as badly off the track as those who suggest that, in 411, the Roman Empire perished completely and became a German State. Papal elec-

tions in the fourth century were often stormy affairs, for great temporalities were at stake as well as a high spiritual office. The pagan chronicler, Ammianus Marcellinus, speaks of the wealth and splendour of the Papal office—the Pope “can give banquets whose luxury surpasses that of the Emperor’s table.” In the natural course of events, Innocent I. (402-417), with other prominent men of Rome, was amongst those who attended the Imperial Conference at Ravenna to negotiate a settlement between Alaric and the Government. As ambassadors of the Emperor, St. Leo I. (440-461), with two Roman senators, proceeded to the camp of Attila, the Hun, with proposals of peace; and the barbarian chieftain did not continue his march on Rome.

In the sphere of ecclesiastical administration the prestige of the Papal See was steadily increasing. A council held at Sardica (the modern Sophia in Bulgaria) in 343 recognized the appellate jurisdiction of the Pope: “It will be very right and fitting for the priests of the Lord from every province to refer to their head—that is, the See of St. Peter.” This was a very considerable step forward; appeals to Rome are very rare indeed during the first three centuries. On doctrinal matters the position is clearer and precedent more abundant. In 380 Pope Damasus condemned as heretical an opinion put forward in Constantinople concerning the nature of the Blessed Trinity. “When he did this,” writes the historian Sozomen, a contemporary, “all were quiet, as the controversy was ended by the judgment of the Roman Church; and the question seemed at last to be settled.” St. Augustine recognized Cecilian as Bishop of Carthage, since he

was "united by letters of communion to the Roman Church, in which the supreme authority of the apostolic throne has always been held." In a letter to Leo I., the bishops of the province of Arles declared that "through blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, the most holy Roman Church should hold sovereignty over all the churches of the world."

We are here on highly controversial ground. Volumes of apologetic and counter-apologetic have been written on the position of the Papacy in the Christian world of the fourth and fifth centuries; and each side seems able to support its own position by a wealth of argument. In some cases the Popes seem to have been dilatory and hesitating where a firm assertion of authority might have appeared desirable; in others they acted with a rash precipitation which provoked irritation and resistance; in others again their wisdom and moderation in asserting their jurisdiction were conspicuous. Did the Pope's position repose primarily upon the special eminence of the See of Peter or the special prestige of the imperial capital? These and many other questions cannot here be examined. But the central fact remains, and we think that we are on common ground in enunciating it: At the end of the fifth century the primacy of the Roman See is generally recognized and attested by a huge mass of evidence. Ultimately the Pope is the primate of the Church. You will find many instances of resistance to the Papal claims; apologists will constantly differ as to the scope and nature of the Pope's jurisdiction at that time. But the basic fact remains. Constantinople had become the capital of the Empire, but Rome remained the capital of the Church. The

famous third canon of the Council of Constantinople (381) claimed only that Constantinople should take rank as the second See in Christendom—stepping, as it were, over the heads of the far more venerable Sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. That was a bold enough claim; to have gone further would have been unthinkable and preposterous to the Christian conscience of the time.

With the possible exception of St. Leo I. Rome produced no great Pope during the first five centuries. She had no bishops to compare with an Athanasius of Alexandria, an Ambrose of Milan, a John Chrysostom of Constantinople. None of the great doctors of the early Church were Bishops of Rome. Certainly the pre-eminence acquired by the Roman See during the first five centuries was not built up by the personal genius or commanding abilities of its successive occupants. Many of these early Popes were highly capable Churchmen, men of the soundest practical judgment and the most genuine zeal for the faith; not a few were saints; several were of noble descent. But none was outstanding in the sense that Augustine or Origen was outstanding. Yet the Roman See had already a great history and an honourable one. She had protected Athanasius and John Chrysostom against powerful enemies. She had refused to toy with the apocalyptic and pseudo-mystical heresies of Montanus. In the great controversies concerning heretical baptism she had taken the side of moderation and good sense. She had condemned the too rigorous and puritanical precepts of Novation and Tertullian. Her tradition as guardian and teacher of the faith was more splendid than that of any great Eastern bishopric.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATIVELY DARK AGES

WE have noted that by the middle of the fourth century the temporal prestige of the Papacy was very considerable. When Gregory the Great acceded in 590, the Pope had become the richest man in Italy, owning lands in all parts of the Empire, and particularly in Sicily. He was still, of course, a subject of the Roman Emperor; his election required confirmation from the Imperial Court at Constantinople. But Justinian had abolished the Roman Consulate in 541, and his later reforms of administration in Italy had made the bishops almost like overseers of the State officials. By the end of the century the Pope had become the first Roman citizen, wielding in the service of the Western Empire a far more effective sceptre than did the enfeebled Exarchs of Ravenna.

There had been no break in continuity. The various rebels and usurpers of the fifth century—Alaric, Genseric, and the rest—had come, not to destroy, but to possess. The old Roman life went on, the old traditions remained, and Virgil's poems were still recited in the Forum of Trajan. Neither in political nor in ecclesiastical history does the year 500 possess any special significance.

In 568 came a far more serious menace—the first invasion of the Lombards. Within a few years they had mastered the whole of the great alluvial plain which still bears their name. Ninety out of one hundred and eight Italian bishoprics were swept away in the flood. The Imperial Exarch sought refuge

amongst the lagoons of Ravenna, the invader was undisputed master of the north of Italy. "What we endure from the Lombards," wrote Pope Pelagius II. in 584, "no tongue can tell." Such was the position in the West when Gregory the Great, perhaps the best and greatest man who ever occupied the Papal throne, was elected in 590.

The reign of Gregory is often represented as the opening of a new era—the portal, so to say, of the Middle Ages. We cannot regard this view as satisfactory. Gregory the Great, it seems to us, was the last of the great Romans; like Ambrose, he had held the highest civic offices before becoming a bishop; he is in the great tradition of imperial statesmen and administrators. As commander-in-chief of the armies he was largely instrumental in saving Rome from capture by the Lombards in 595. The treaty between the Empire and the Lombards, which was signed in 598, was negotiated chiefly through his agency. These were, perhaps, strange activities for a Christian bishop; but Gregory was, by force of circumstances, more than that. His was the only authority of any effect in Italy; and when he was angrily reprimanded by the Emperor Maurice for usurping the functions of the Exarchate, he could reply with justice that he had acted in the first interests of the Empire and had done what the Exarchate had made no attempt to do. In Rome he presided over the supplies and distribution of food. He was statesman and patriot, the saviour of his people.

That is one side of his great career. The other is even more important. On the death of his father, Gregory had made over his private fortune to monastic

foundations—Monte Cassino had been sacked by the Lombards in 580—and throughout his pontificate he did his utmost to encourage the spread and development of monasticism. The monks of St. Benedict were his spiritual militia. He sent Augustine to Britain; vigorous missionary work was undertaken amongst the Lombards. Monastic houses were encouraged to undertake agricultural work, which had been terribly neglected in past years. In 593 the Pope published his famous *Dialogues* in four books, the second of which is a life of St. Benedict—the earliest that we possess. He did much to systematize the liturgical offices of the Church. The Canon of the Mass was already old and venerable; Gregory added a few words to this greatest (save one) of Christian prayers, and prescribed that the Lord's Prayer should be said immediately after it. When, towards the end of his reign, the Bishop of Constantinople assumed to himself the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, Gregory promptly forbade its official use, adding that such a title properly belonged to no bishop. He desires "no honour which shall detract from the honour which belongs to my brethren"; nevertheless, "who doubts that the Church of Constantinople is subject to the Apostolic See? Indeed the most pious Lord Emperor and our brother the Bishop of that city do eagerly acknowledge this." Not always, however; there was a marked falling-off in eagerness as the seventh century progressed, as Constantinople became more important and Rome less so in the economy of the Empire.

The Roman Empire centred upon the Mediterranean. It is of the highest importance to a proper comprehension of history to realize that for the first

seven centuries the Mediterranean was the domestic pond of Christendom. Since the days of Caractacus there had been pressure from the Barbarians on the northern and eastern frontiers of the Empire. But the marvellous assimilative power of the imperial administration and the toughness of its tradition were sufficient to prevent any complete break-down or anything approaching revolution. The Lombards were, perhaps, the most terrible enemies whom Italy ever had; yet they soon forsook Arianism for Catholicism and began to intermarry with the native inhabitants. By the eighth century their kings are writing their decrees in Latin; by the ninth century the Lombard language was not to be heard anywhere in Italy. Assimilation was complete. As long as the Mediterranean ports remained open, no power could destroy the Empire, nor was there any reason to fear the dismemberment of Christendom.

Suddenly from the far deserts of Arabia came an enemy who was to accomplish what no barbarian chieftains had ever come within a hundred miles of performing. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of the tremendous onslaught of Islam. Within the space of a few years the Mohammedans, sweeping all before them from Jedda to the Bosphorus, from Suez to Algeciras and San Sebastian, destroyed the ancient world. Syria had fallen by 636, Egypt ten years later. By 711 the Moslem was in Spain. With the loss of Egypt, papyrus ceased to reach Gaul. By the time of Charlemagne, Marseilles, for centuries the greatest port in the West, was almost a deserted city. In the course of the ninth century, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily fell beneath the sway of the Crescent. Only

upon the extreme flanks had the invader been held. In 717 the imperial armies hurled him back from Constantinople; in 732, Charles Martel engaged him almost before the walls of Paris and flung him back upon the Pyrenees.

Europe was saved, though held in a state of siege. But the Mediterranean was now a Mohammedan sea; the link, so firmly forged, which had held Christendom and the Empire together, was snapped. By the middle of the eighth century the last pretence of administering Italy from Constantinople had been given up. In 754 the Donation of Pepin, King of the Franks, marked the foundation of the temporal power of the Papacy and the virtual abandonment of the Pope's temporal allegiance to Constantinople. What Islam had not captured she had rent in twain. The schism of the Empire was an accomplished fact; the schism of the Church was plainly foreshadowed.

Fortunately for the Church and for Europe, the Papal office was occupied during these terrible years by a succession of magnificent Pontiffs. Rome was the centre which sustained the tremendous missionary zeal which converted the greater part of Northern Europe. During the eighth century the resources of the Papal library were strained to the uttermost by the constant demands for service-books and articles of Church equipment. We know that Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth, made seven journeys to Rome, returning on each occasion loaded with books, sacred pictures, and altar cloths. Pope Paul I. sent Greek treatises on grammar and the sciences to the Frankish King. Greek was regularly taught in the Roman seminaries, and the traditions of the old culture were preserved.

In the account of an ecclesiastical case tried at Rome in 813 mention is made, amongst other officials present, of one "George, the Librarian." All this must not, however, blind us to the fact that it was an age of violence and anarchy. When the anti-Pope Constantine was deposed and Stephen III. elected, the former had his eyes put out and was dragged through the streets of Rome in derision. At the synod which followed he was set upon by the Roman clergy, savagely beaten, and thrown out of the Lateran Basilica.

It was almost a miracle that the great Iconoclast controversy did not end in permanent schism between East and West. But unity in the Church was secured where it had been lost in the Empire. If schism had come, it would have been partly traceable, like so many disasters of the time, to Islam. There is a significant similarity between the Mohammedan ban on images and religious symbolism on the one hand, and the Iconoclast position taken up by Leo the Isaurian on the other.

The political and economic situation in Europe was supremely critical. Europe found herself suddenly a closed and isolated State. During the whole Merovingian period Gaul had been a maritime country, facing the Mediterranean; Rome had been central to the whole scheme of things. But now all was altered; the Emperor had confiscated the Papal dominions in Sicily during the Iconoclast affair; the Mediterranean was closed to communication. The Lombards, by now loyal sons of the Church, had made common cause with the Pope against the Iconoclast emperors, and in 751 the Lombard King had seized Ravenna, the last

imperial stronghold in the peninsula. But the Pope, a temporal prince discharging great secular duties, could not regard this Lombard aggression with equanimity. Small wonder that he should have looked farther north for a power to whom he might appeal for temporal aid, and from whom he could expect spiritual homage. Small wonder that the coronation of Pepin by St. Boniface should have been followed (in 754) by the famous Donation. Herein the King recognized the Pope as lawful heir to the derelict imperial possessions and pledged himself to vindicate the Papal rights in the matter. Thus were founded the States of the Church. In 759, Pepin recaptured Narbonne from the Moslems.

Without Islam, it has been well said, the Frankish Empire would never have existed. Charlemagne without Mahomet would be inconceivable. There is no special significance in his repeated campaigns against the Saxons, Bavarians, and Avars, though his conquests had important results. The Cross followed in the wake of the sword, and Charles's famous capitulary of 785 prescribed the death penalty for treason, arson, human sacrifice, and refusal to accept Christian baptism. Pope Adrian I., whilst congratulating the Emperor on his military successes and rejoicing with him at the number of conversions, attempted to mitigate this last terrible prescription; and Alcuin spoke his mind even more frankly in the matter. By the end of Charles's reign the frontiers of European Christendom had been pushed out to the line of the Elbe. In a sense his Empire was indeed a Holy Roman Empire, though its holiness, to say the least of it, was of a decidedly muscular character. But in these Eastern

campaigns Charlemagne is in the tradition of the Emperors of old, of Julian and Theodosius. What gives its special character to the Caroline Empire is the presence of Islam in Spain and the Mediterranean; for whereas the old Empire had been primarily maritime, that of Charles was purely territorial. The coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III. was destined to prove a most momentous event in history. Yet we must realize that the Caroline Empire was essentially a makeshift, almost a personal creation. Charlemagne saved Europe on her frontiers and did much to cement the spiritual unity of the West; but his temporal Empire was not to endure.

In the Lateran Basilica, Leo III. caused to be erected a huge mosaic, representing in allegory the relations between Pope and Emperor. Charles and Leo kneel before St. Peter, and the Apostle bestows upon each the symbols of their respective offices—the gonfalon and the pallium. Thus was adumbrated that great principle which, variously modified and developed, was to dominate European political theory for nearly seven centuries. All earthly sovereignty, spiritual and temporal alike, derives from God, being, in a sense, delegated by Him. In Christian society the spiritual and temporal powers are entrusted to two authorities, each absolute in its own province, yet each dependent upon the other—Church and Empire. The Church, then, is held to be independent of secular control, but “as in the ceremony of anointing the King the dignity of the consecrator is greater than that of the consecrated, so the dignity of the priest is greater than the dignity of the prince.” Both spiritual and temporal powers are, in a sense, within the Church, there can be no

ultimate dualism. With the coming of the Middle Ages we shall get further developments, rival theories of ecclesiastical and secular publicists. But the central idea remains: baptism is the hall-mark of Christian citizenship.

“Mankind is one ‘mystical body’ . . . it is an all-embracing corporation which constitutes that Universal Realm, spiritual and temporal, which may be called the Universal Church, or, with equal propriety, the Commonwealth of the human race. . . . If Mankind be only one and if there can be but one state that comprises all mankind, that state can be none other than the Church which God Himself has founded.”

With the rapid disintegration of the Caroline Empire after Charles's death (in 814) the Church seems to come forward as the greatest and, indeed, the only unifying force in Europe. The spiritual foundations had been more securely laid than the temporal. Two events, both of which occurred in 831, are, perhaps, symbolical, though of no particular importance in themselves. In that year Gregory IV. confirmed the appointment of the first Archbishop of Hamburg; the new archdiocese is to extend over Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Greenland, and Iceland. A month or two later the Mohammedans resumed a naval offensive, attacked Sardinia, and captured Palermo. Fifteen years later they effected a landing at Ostia, came right up the Tiber, and plundered the churches in Rome. It might well have seemed a mere matter of time before Islam would have established complete supremacy in the Mediterranean and occupied the whole northern coast from Barcelona to the Balkans. But a new maritime power had already

appeared. In 845 the Normans had sailed up the Guadalquivir and sacked Seville. Ten years later they were in the Balearics. The Caroline sovereigns, fighting on interior lines, had saved the mainland; the Normans were to reopen the seas.

In a remarkable manner Rome seems almost always to have produced her greatest Popes in times of acute crisis. Not many of the Popes have been in the first rank of great men; but Nicholas I. (858-867) is very certainly one of them. All over Europe men were looking to the Papacy as the only symbol of corporate unity. The spiritual jurisdiction was everywhere recognized; the temporal power was regarded as natural and necessary. In France especially the Church was struggling against the brutal oppression of rapacious noblemen and the tyranny of the great feudal archbishops; the need of a strong central rule was everywhere felt amongst Churchmen. We do not know when the famous False Decretals were first produced, but they were first cited at the Council of Soissons in 853, and they were certainly drawn up in France, not in Rome. It is pretty certain that Nicholas I. knew nothing of them until the latter years of his reign, and it is doubtful that he ever used them. At any rate, none of his immediate successors did so; about two centuries later Leo IX. brought them into some prominence. The False Decretals made no new claims for the exercise of Papal authority; they simply reiterated and emphasized by spurious precedents the ancient claims of the fourth and fifth centuries. They are chiefly important as showing the widespread desire of northern clergy to strengthen and evoke the exercise of the Papal authority.

The coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III., the setting up of a second Roman Emperor, had seemed almost like high treason to the Eastern Bishops. The Roman Patriarch had finally cut himself off from the Roman world. This feeling of smouldering hostility to the Pope came to a head during the time of Nicholas. A long dispute concerning the rightful occupant of the See of Constantinople—Nicholas supporting the Patriarch Ignatius, and the Imperial Court their own nominee, Photius—ended in the summoning by Photius of a council. The Pope was declared excommunicate; the Latin Church was charged with having lapsed into heresy on eight articles of faith, and it was finally asserted that all the privileges of Rome had passed to Constantinople. For the next half-century there was schism between East and West.

In Europe, Nicholas I. vigorously and wisely asserted the Papal jurisdiction. He condemned the adulterous Lothair, King of Lorraine. The great Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, received back, at the direction of the Pope, a bishop whom he had deposed.

“Since the time of Blessed Gregory,” said a contemporary of St. Nicholas I., “no one who has been raised to the Papal dignity can be compared to him. He commanded kings and tyrants as if he were the lord of the world. To good bishops and priests, to pious laymen, he was kind, humble, gentle, and meek; to evildoers he was terrible and stern. People say rightly that God raised up in him a second Elias.”

How great had been his personal influence was to be terribly manifested by subsequent events. The period of a century and a half from 882 onwards is, perhaps, the darkest in Papal history. Most of these

Popes were capable statesmen, and not a few displayed genuine zeal for the welfare of the Church; but it was a terrible period, for all that. In 916, John X., leading the allied troops in person, captured the great Moslem fortress on the Garigliano, close to Rome, and the place, which had long been the terror of Italy, was destroyed. John XII. (955-964) was a vicious and unprincipled youth, accused by the Roman clergy of turning his palace into a brothel, of wearing armour, of simony, and of many other offences. The anarchy and ferocity of tenth-century Rome is strikingly illustrated by the fact that, of the seven Popes who reigned between 955 and 985, Benedict V. died in exile, Benedict VI. was assassinated, John XIV. died in prison, and Boniface VII. was probably poisoned.

A slightly better period followed, but after the death (in 1002) of Sylvester II., who first suggested the plan of recapturing the Holy Land from Islam, things became worse than ever. The Papacy became virtually the private property of the Roman counts of Tusculum. Benedict IX. was possibly the worst Pope who has ever occupied the Chair of Peter; in 1046 he resigned his office and put it up for sale. Yet even these frightful abuses were insufficient to extinguish or even to dim the prestige of the Papal See. Pilgrims still flocked to Rome from all over Europe; the Cluniac reformers had placed themselves under the special protection of the Papacy; King Canute of England visited Rome during the Tusculan régime, yet his letters show how deep a spiritual impression was made upon him by his pilgrimage to the Eternal City. In 997 the Faith was first preached to the Prussian barbarians of the Vistula district. •

CHAPTER IV

FROM HILDEBRAND TO THE BORGIAS

THE history of the medieval Papacy is the history of medieval Europe—no less; the story is such a tremendous one that it seems almost presumptuous to attempt to summarize it in a page or two. Nevertheless, the attempt must be made.

The keynote of all medieval thought is the idea of unity. Charlemagne had aimed (perhaps unconsciously) at the establishment of secular or territorial unity, the formation of a great world-empire, in which all men would ultimately be included as citizens. But the fabric had not endured; and it was for Hildebrand, who became Pope as Gregory VII., to give reality to the dreams of Nicholas I. and of earnest Christian thinkers all over Europe by raising the Papal office to a position of active spiritual leadership. Hildebrand made real the vision of spiritual unity—a universal Church, the kingdom of God on earth, embracing all men in the one fold of the one Shepherd, who is represented on earth by His appointed vicar. In doing this, he consolidated and developed rather than created; he breathed life into the Christian frame of Europe.

Church and State in the Middle Ages were not two separate and distinct societies, but different aspects of the same society—the Christian Commonwealth. Yet that society was disposed under two governments, each supreme in its appointed sphere, each deriving

its authority from God—the spiritual and the temporal. We find it difficult to grasp this idea to-day—for with us in England, at any rate, the position is exactly reversed. Church and State are not one society but two societies; there is no dual authority, for the King in Parliament is the head of both. It is the precise antithesis of the medieval polity. The medieval Church may be said to have included the State; it was itself, as Dr. Tout puts it, a sort of super-State. This did not mean, of course, that the Church claimed to override princes in affairs of secular government. Neither Church nor Empire claimed omniscience; on the one hand, secular influence in episcopal elections was in some degree recognized by the Church; on the other, it was conceded by Imperialist publicists that lay investiture referred only to temporalities. Innocent III.'s famous disclaimer of feudal competence is representative. But the idea was implied and everywhere acted upon that political citizenship was dependent upon membership of the Church. The Bull of Excommunication was the most lethal of all political weapons; for exclusion from the Church meant the loss of all civic and legal privileges, and, if you were a prince or nobleman, it meant that your vassals were released from all oaths of allegiance to your person. The conception was that of a single society, living under a single principle of life, controlled ultimately by a single authority—a visible society, though of its nature spiritual, including within itself all others.

“The Church, enthroning itself over Christian society, makes a great and gallant attempt to unify all life, in all its reaches—political, social, economic,

intellectual—under the control of Christian principle. Politically it attempts to rebuke and correct kings for internal misgovernment, as when they falsify coinage, and for external misdoing, as when they break treaties; socially it controls the life of the family by the law of marriage which it administers, and the life of the individual by its system of penance; economically it seeks to regulate commerce and industry by enforcing just prices and prohibiting usury, as it seeks to control the economic motive in general by its conception of property as a trust held for the general benefit, and by its inculcation of charity; intellectually it develops a single culture in the universities which are its organs, and in the last resort it enforces that culture by the prosecution of heresy. It is a magnificent attempt at a synthesis of the whole of life by a sovereign wisdom.”*

The greatest social virtue and the principle of all social arrangement is justice; in all medieval treatises on authority the appeal is always to this idea of justice. “I have loved justice and hated iniquity,” murmured the great Hildebrand on his deathbed, “and therefore I die in exile.” Justice implied the orderly arrangement of all things in relation to the Divine plan; and, as Gregory VII. understood it, it implied the spiritual supremacy of the Pope over the whole Church—a thing virtually undisputed in Europe for centuries. Pride or arrogance (*superbia*) is the antithesis of justice (*justitia*). We have said that the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was undisputed. All

* Ernest Barker in *Social and Political Ideas of the Middle Ages* (Ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw; Harrap), p. 15.

through the Middle Ages men denounced the abuses in the Papal Curia, protested violently against Papal taxes, exposed corruptions, ridiculed hypocrisies, and so on. Dante's great lament on the decline of the spiritual zeal of the Papacy is familiar; there is the story of that medieval wit, who said that it was no use going to Rome with an Accusative unless you took a Dative with you also; there are the great struggles between the Popes and such European monarchs as Philip-Augustus and Henry II. We can understand the remark of the great Englishman, Pope Hadrian IV. to his friend, John of Salisbury—that the Papal office was the most miserable position on earth; no men, perhaps, have been called upon to shoulder such tremendous responsibilities as were the Popes of the Middle Ages.

Right up to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Rome was probably the most turbulent city in Europe; few Popes could live there in security. We are, perhaps, too much inclined to look upon the twelfth and thirteenth century Popes—men like Alexander III. and Innocent IV.—as reigning serenely in the Eternal City, gathering tribute from the peoples of Europe for the furtherance of their own political designs and the maintenance of their own temporal independence. It is an interesting corrective to such a view to glance through any calendar of medieval Papal documents—such as Jaffé's second volume or Potthast's *Regesta**—and to note the relatively small

* Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum . . . ad annum* 1198. (Leipzig, 1885.) Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab. an* 1198, *ad. an.* 1304. (Berlin, 1874.)

proportion of bulls and rescripts that emanated from Rome. Very rarely indeed, prior to the death of Frederick II., was a Pope able to occupy his own palace for any length of time or to sing Mass regularly in St. Peter's; when he did manage to instal himself in Rome, he was almost always driven out within a few months. The flight to Avignon is seen in rather a new light when it is recognized that Innocent IV. was scarcely in Rome at all during his reign of eleven years, that Clement IV. dated no single document from Rome, and that neither Martin IV. nor Celestine V. ever entered the city.

From the time of Hildebrand to that of Innocent IV. the Papacy was occupied, on and off, with a life-and-death struggle against the Empire. The world had its own claims; and the Papacy had to resist constant attempts at its own absorption, enslavement, and secularization. Dr. Powicke quotes, in summary of the whole issue, the words of a Florentine chronicler, who wrote: "Humility is of no avail against sheer evil." The temporal struggles of the Papacy were the necessary concomitants of its vast spiritual mission in a society of which it was the cement. But if the Papacy involved itself in conflicts as violent as those of other secular princes, and if the Papal Curia often showed itself, in temporalities, as corrupt as anything that the time produced, it yet remains true that the spiritual supremacy was practically unchallenged (save by a few persons who were looked upon as cranks) until late in the fifteenth century. We need not indulge in any foolish talk about the "ages of faith"; there was faith, of course, and scepticism and indifference, as in all ages. But the

spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope was the core of ecclesiastical organization, and hence of the whole social system. As long as Wycliffe confined himself to denunciations of Papal taxes and abuses in Papal administration, he was vastly popular; but as soon as he mixed himself up in theology and argued against Transubstantiation and the primacy of the Pope, his influence declined and his teaching took on, in the eyes of his contemporaries, a character of eccentricity.

We now resume the historical narrative where it was left in the last chapter. In 1054 occurred the decisive schism between Eastern and Western Churches. Since the fifth century there had been intermittent periods of schism; from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries there were to be intermittent periods of union. Outwardly the schism of 1054 was theological and doctrinal, the grounds of dispute being chiefly the employment by the Latin Church of unleavened bread in the Mass—which, according to the Eastern bishops, implied that Christ had no human soul—the use of the *filioque* clause in the Creed and the practice of the Saturday fast. For once the Eastern Emperor was on the side of conciliation and gave an honourable welcome to the legates sent by Leo IX. But Michael Cerularius, the Patriarch, was inexorable; and there can be no doubt that, in his defiance of the Pope, he had the support of almost the whole Eastern Church. Equally unquestionable is it that the breach was deliberately precipitated by Constantinople. It was the long-delayed result of the political severance of the eighth century; and had union been preserved until the time of the Crusades,

schism might never have become permanent. East and West might have remained united to this day.

As it was, the subsequent events did nothing to heal, and everything to exaggerate the rupture. In 1204 the perfidy of the Venetians was responsible for one of the most abominable outrages in history—the sack of Constantinople. The expedition is still charitably referred to in history books as the Fourth Crusade. But the Easterners never forgot the hideous orgies of massacre and arson in which the Western soldiery indulged. They saw the whole thing as the work of the Papacy—though, in point of fact, Innocent III. had excommunicated the whole crusading army as soon as he heard of the terrible event. But the seeds of bitter hatred were sown; and two centuries later, when the Turk entered their city, the Easterners declared that they preferred the Sultan's turban to the Pope's tiara.

In 1071 the Normans captured Sicily, thereby reopening the Mediterranean and preparing the way for the great tidal wave of the First Crusade. In 1073 Hildebrand, who for nearly twenty years had been the power behind the Papal throne, was himself elected Pope and took the title of Gregory VII. The Papacy had shaken itself clear of the control of the Roman nobles, but only to fall into the hands of the Emperor; all the six Popes from Gregory VI. had been Germans, nominated by Henry III. One of the great reforms effected by Gregory VII. was to free the Papacy from all secular control, as to the filling of the office, and, by vigorously putting into practice the decrees of the Lateran Council in 1059, to make the Papal office elective by the body of car-

dinals. The genius of Hildebrand was essentially conservative; he consolidated and established, but he did not create. The principles of his administration were the principles of the great Cluniac movement. He sought rigidly to enforce throughout the Church the old decrees against simony—that is, the sale and purchase of spiritual offices. Clerical celibacy, upon which Cluny had laid much stress, and which was already widely observed, became a part of Church discipline. But the great struggle of his life was in the matter of lay-investiture, and here he came into immediate conflict with the Emperor Henry IV. Many bishops and abbots were great temporal princes, whose political support was of vital importance to kings and emperors. As long as these high spiritual offices were at the bestowal of the secular ruler, reform in the Church, as Gregory clearly perceived, was impossible. In 1075 a council at Rome, over which he presided, forbade bishops to give feudal homage to any secular authority or to receive investiture from a prince. It was a declaration of war.

The famous incident at Canossa, when the Emperor waited for three days in the snow to kneel in penance before the Pope, has, perhaps, more dramatic colour than historical importance. For it was only an incident in the struggle. In 1080 the Emperor was again excommunicated; and four years later he advanced upon Rome, occupied the city, and installed an anti-Pope. After Gregory's death in 1085 the investiture controversy remained unsettled. Urban II. and Peter the Hermit were sounding the bugles for the First Crusade—that great French enterprise which hurled Europe against Asia in a wave of chivalric

idealism. In 1097 the crusaders took Nicæa, and three years later Baldwin was crowned first King of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. As to the investiture controversy, a settlement with the King of England was reached, after protracted negotiations, at Bec, in 1107. In 1122, by the Concordat of Worms between Henry V. and Pope Calixtus III. it was agreed that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor, but that the clergy should have free rights of election. Bishops were bound to perform their feudal duties, and were to receive their temporalities by the touch of the Imperial sceptre. The earlier settlement at Bec between Henry I. of England and Pope Paschal II. had been on exactly similar lines.

In 1152 Frederick Barbarossa became Emperor. His long reign of thirty-eight years was passed in an attempt, ending in failure, to assert the political supremacy of the Empire over the whole of the Italian peninsula. "Wilt thou know," he said to the Roman people at the time of his coronation, "where the ancient glory of thy Rome, the dignified severity of the Senate, the tactics of war, and the invincible military prestige have gone? All are found amongst us Germans; all have been transmitted to us through the Empire." He was crowned in 1155 by the Englishman, Hadrian IV., and from that year until his death in 1159 the Pope was never able to enter Rome. His successor, the great Alexander III., after spending four years in exile in France, came back to Rome on St. Cecilia's day, 1165. Scarcely more than a year later Frederick's troops entered the city and sacked St. Peter's. The Pope escaped in the disguise of a

pilgrim, and the Emperor resorted to the usual device of appointing an anti-Pope. But the strong political influence of the Papacy outside the Empire was to make itself felt. In 1176 the Lombards, with whose interests the Pope had allied himself, utterly routed the Emperor at Legnano. The treaty of Venice in the following year was ratified by a solemn meeting in the Church of St. Mark when the Emperor, received on the steps of the church by the Pope, prostrated himself to the ground and offered spiritual homage to the pontiff. In March, 1179, the Third General Council of the Lateran assembled in Rome.

In 1186, an event, destined to be of great political importance, took place. Frederick married his son Henry to Constance, heiress to the kingdom of Sicily. Sicily had become, perhaps, the best governed and the most highly civilized country in Europe; everything seemed now to point to its becoming a fief of the Empire—an event against which Papal policy had been for centuries directed. As long as the States of the Church existed, separate jurisdictions in north and south Italy were essential to Papal security. "To have Lombardy and the South in the same strong hand," as a modern historian neatly puts it, "was to endanger the crushing of the States of the Church between the upper and nether millstone." Moreover, the States of the Church were the only guarantee to the Papacy of that freedom from secular domination, which was essential to the maintenance of its spiritual jurisdiction.

A superficial knowledge of history suggests that the reign of Innocent III. (1198-1216) marked the summit of Papal prestige throughout Europe. A

closer examination of the facts confirms this view. The redoubtable Frederick II., statesman and man of letters, keeper of elephants, dromedaries, and Moslem harems, the terror of heretics and bitter enemy of the Church, was still in his minority. Lothario Conti, Innocent III., was only thirty-seven at the time of his election; a scholar and graduate of the University of Paris, an accomplished lawyer and statesman, a great Christian gentleman in every sense of the words, he was to prove himself one of the greatest Popes in history. He founded hospitals and endowed schools all over Europe. In an age of revivalists and popular preachers—many of them hopelessly unbalanced—he made no mistake about St. Francis. He sent legates to Iceland, and, resuming the evangelization of the Prussians, appointed the first Bishop of Prussia in 1212. For nine years he hesitated before summoning the Crusade into Languedoc, seeking strenuously to bring union by spiritual weapons. He arbitrated in a dispute concerning the kingdom of Hungary, and excommunicated an apostate priest who aspired to the throne of Norway. His dealings with Philip-Augustus in the matter of the royal divorce are too well known to need repetition. In the last years of his reign he presided over the Fourth General Council of the Lateran, at which the Franciscan Order was officially recognized and the doctrine of Transubstantiation defined. Innocent died at Perugia in the following year. Like his predecessors, he enjoyed little personal security during his reign. It should always be remembered that these twelfth and thirteenth century Popes, who humbled Emperors to the dust, were not haughty prelates, ruling in untroubled splendour from Rome.

They were constantly on the move, were rarely able to settle in their own city, and were not infrequently in circumstances of grave personal danger. Luxury and temporal splendour were to come to the Papacy later, and were to bring disaster in their train.

The thirteenth century may justly be called the Friars' century. Innocent III. had confirmed the mission of St. Francis, and in 1220 Honorius III. formally recognized the Dominicans. The whole movement was essentially democratic and urban; it not only uncloistered the monk, but it brought him into the heart of the new mercantile cities. Most of the great Benedictine and Cistercian houses were active agricultural communities, whose members were, as a rule, recruited from the upper classes. Men of all ranks were from the first to be found in the new mendicant orders. The Friars, so to say, brought monasticism up to date, supplying in the organization of the Church a need which neither the older monastic foundations nor the parochial system could satisfactorily answer. They did much to improve the education and training of the clergy. They wrote popular manuals of devotion, and, in the Universities, raised the mighty fabric of scholastic philosophy. As confessors they attained so great a popularity that Boniface VIII. was forced to regulate their activities in this direction, as tending to supersede the functions of the parish clergy. Finally, in the mission field they carried Christianity to the uttermost ends of the known world. Franciscan and Dominican scholars debated with Moslem doctors in the schools of Baghdad. In 1245 Innocent IV. sent a Franciscan mission to the Great Khan of Tartary. An archbishop

of Pekin was consecrated by the instructions of Clement V., but the rise of the Ming Dynasty in 1362 put a summary end to the Christian mission in China, several Friars losing their lives.

The death of Frederick II. in 1250, the Council of Lyons in 1274, the rise and fall of the French power in Sicily, and the final transference of Sicily to the King of Aragon are all foreshadowings of the "Avignon Captivity" of the Papacy. Boniface VIII., as Dean Milman put it, "surveyed Christendom with the haughty glance of a master, but not altogether with the cool and penetrating wisdom of a statesman." The famous bull, *Clericis laicos*, which prescribed that no taxes should be laid upon the clergy without Papal sanction, raised a storm of opposition in the French and English kingdoms; and the Pope was forced to compromise in the later *Etsi de statu*. In the most extravagant terms Boniface asserted the complete supremacy of the spiritual over the secular authority; but the crushing humiliation which he was later to suffer at the hands of Philip the Fair showed that such assertions, whether justifiable or not, were at any rate anachronistic. New national forces were in the field; the old internationalism was already passing.

The Avignon Popes have fared badly in historical textbooks, and perhaps naturally so. The current allegation is that, during this period of seventy-three years, the Papacy was simply the obedient tool of the French Kings. This is broadly true, though it needs qualification. If Clement VI. made loans totalling some 600,000 florins to the French Crown, if the condemnation of the Templars was largely brought about by the machinations of Philip the Fair, it yet

remains true that six of the seven Avignon Popes were subjects of the English Crown prior to their elections. Clement VI. was chiefly instrumental in bringing about an armistice between Edward III. of England and the French sovereign, and John XXII. had striven to bring peace after the Scottish conflicts. Moreover, as regards the mere fact of residence in French territory, we have to remember that, since the middle of the thirteenth century, the Popes had lived almost anywhere but in Rome—though remaining, of course, within the Papal States. In Martin IV.'s time (1281-1285) the Curia was, apparently, definitely established at Viterbo.

On the side of ecclesiastical administration the Avignon Popes had a number of very solid achievements to their credit. Clement V., a weak and vacillating person, almost a chronic invalid, completed the codification of the Canon Law, and founded Universities at Orleans and Perugia. John XXII., seventy-two years old at the time of his election (1316), established the hierarchy in Persia and vigorously reformed the Order of the Knights Hospitallers. Benedict XII., an energetic hunter of heretics in his early days, made efforts to reform the Curia, and spoke of the "immeasurable abuses" in the high places of church administration. These abuses were indeed enormous. The transference of the seat of Papal government to Avignon had deprived the Popes of large sources of revenue, and necessitated the development of a vast fiscal system. The Papacy was to become the greatest financial institution in Europe. Local churches were everywhere impoverished by the constantly increasing demands of the central Court of Christendom; the

system of Papal provisions was enormously extended, and John XXII. almost abolished election by cathedral chapters; the payment of annates was introduced by Innocent VI. Much of the revenue so collected was spent upon the worthiest objects—the endowment of learning, the arts, and so forth. But the lavish magnificence of the Papal Curia was a scandal to all Europe; and the reckless prodigality of Clement VI. —“None of my predecessors have known how to conduct themselves as Popes,” he once said—laid upon his successors a huge burden of debt, whose attempted liquidation necessitated further exactions. The Black Death plunged Europe into poverty and destitution; yet still the Curia was insatiable in its demands for funds. At last, in 1378, Gregory XI. returned to Rome.

Followed the crowning scandal of the Great Schism, when for forty years (1378-1417) two, and afterwards three, claimants strenuously asserted their titles as canonically elected Popes. Anathemas and counter-anathemas were hurled back and forth, and it was not until the Council of Constance that unity was restored. But the Conciliar Movement failed with surprising completeness in its two aims of initiating an effective reforming movement in the Church and of setting the authority of General Councils above that of the Pope; whilst astute Papal diplomacy led to the signing of a number of important agreements with European sovereigns. At the Council of Florence in 1439, union with the Eastern Church was re-established. The Easterners urgently appealed to the Pope for a crusade against the Turk, who was already menacing Constantinople; but although Nicholas V.

strove to unite Western Christendom for the enterprise, nothing was done. Constantinople fell in 1453, and the schism between East and West, which has lasted to this day, came in 1472. In 1467 Sweynheym and Pannartz came to Rome with their printing-press. In 1478 Sixtus IV. gave his sanction to the re-organization by Ferdinand and Isabella of the Spanish Inquisition.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century the medieval polity of Europe was manifestly dissolving. The fiscal policy of the Papacy and the notorious abuses in the Curia, the political subservience of the Popes to the French throne during the Avignon period, and the hopeless confusion of the schism had done much to undermine popular respect for the Papal leadership. Yet in spite of these things, which had a sort of logical culmination in the Conciliar Movement, the star of the Papacy, by the middle of the century, seemed everywhere in the ascendant. To all outward appearances the Papal office was as strong as ever. The Popes had returned to Rome as great temporal princes, and had set themselves vigorously to work to restore and beautify the city. With Nicholas V. we get the first of the great humanist Popes; the Papacy comes forward as the champion and patron of the new classical learning, and the Papal Court becomes the most brilliant in Europe, the Mecca of scholars and artists, the focus of the new revolt against tradition. Fra Angelico beautifully adorned the Roman Church; that accomplished scholar, Lorenzo Valla, who exposed the Donation of Constantine as a forgery, was Papal secretary and canon of the Lateran Basilica.

The Renaissance Papacy has something of the pagan magnificence of the Imperial Court in the days of the Augustan Emperors. Corruption of all kinds, simony and nepotism, were overtly practised. Temporal splendour had come to the Papacy and spiritual energy had correspondingly declined. Certainly the morality of the Curia was no better and no worse than that of other Italian Courts—which is not saying much. The summit of secular magnificence and the depth of spiritual and moral laxity were reached during the reign of the famous Rodrigo Borgia, Alexander VI., who secured his own election in 1492 by the most flagrant bribery and simony. Nobody nowadays thinks of disputing his title to be considered a capable and even brilliant statesman, a generous patron of learning and charitable works, and a zealous champion of Christendom against the Turk. Nor does anyone pay overmuch attention to those scurrilous pamphleteers of the time, who charged him with every kind of abominable crime. But, as a Christian priest, the spiritual and moral spokesman of Christendom, he was utterly impossible. The shameless favouritism, by which he constantly advanced his relations to the highest ecclesiastical offices, suggests the reflection that all his geese were swans; more than one modern apologist has gone so far as to maintain that all his sons were nephews. We may, perhaps, be content with the judgment of a contemporary chronicler:

“He was a pontiff whose splendid qualities were matched by equally great vices. There was nothing small about him. He was intelligent, eloquent, tactful in adapting himself to the character of everyone

he met, most energetic in matters of business, and, though he had never given much time to literary pursuits, it was clear that he set no small store upon learning. He was always so punctual in paying his soldiers that, whatever happened, he was able to count on a willing and most loyal army. All these virtues, however, were neutralized by vices which need not here be mentioned, and by his overmastering desire to secure great positions for his bastard children."

CHAPTER V

FROM TRENT TO THE VATICAN

THE year 1500 finds the Papacy enthroned upon the Vatican Hill, decked out in all the trappings of an exaggerated temporal splendour; it has become more nearly secularized than at any other period of its history. "What is followed is the gospel, not according to St. Mark, but according to the marks of silver." During this half-century of its history the Papacy does indeed seem more like the ghost of the old Empire than the spiritual directorate of Christendom. The much-needed reforms of Church administration, the stamping-out of the universal traffic in sacred things, seem as far off as ever; the vested interests on the side of the intolerable *status quo* are too powerful. The Papacy has become a wealthy and liberal Italian princedom, and men are everywhere beginning to despair of its claim to spiritual leadership—a claim which, when the Papal throne was occupied by a man like Alexander VI., seemed almost grotesque. The next four centuries are to witness an almost complete reversal of the whole position. Since the fall of Rome in 1870 the Papacy has ceased to exist as a temporal power, whilst its spiritual imperium has become greater than at any other time in the past.

The sixteenth century was an age of confusion and conflict, and, in spite of such features as the colonization of the Americas and the spread of printing, it is

more accurately regarded as an age of disruption than as one of reconstruction. The terrible religious conflicts in France, the Marian and Elizabethan persecutions in England, and the ferocious activities of the Inquisition in Spain, suggest rather the death-agonies of the old age than the birth-pains of the new. The famous principle, *Cujus regio ejus religio* ("One country, one religion"), which found explicit expression at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, is essentially an attempt at compromise between the old political ideas of the Middle Ages and the new forces of nationalist feeling. Even a man like Philip II. of Spain could declare that he would rather not reign at all than reign over heretics; and Mr. Tawney, in his masterly *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, has shown us how almost pedantically medieval was the social philosophy of men like Luther, Melancthon, and Latimer. The sixteenth century is a sort of nightmare of medievalism—of medievalism run riot and robbed of its unifying principle. The Divine Right of Kings was the first substitute for the Divine Right of the Pope.

"Authority, expelled from the altar, finds a new and securer home upon the throne. . . . Sceptical as to the existence of unicorns and salamanders, the age of Machiavelli and Henry VIII. found food for its credulity in the worship of that rare monster, the God-fearing Prince."

So writes Mr. Tawney; and Lord Acton gave us much the same idea when he said: "Calvin preached and Bellarmine lectured; but Machiavelli reigned."

What we usually understand by the Renaissance Papacy may be said to end with the death of Leo X.

in 1521. Julius II., a consummate statesman, a munificent patron of the arts, a vigorous prince who led his troops in battle on more than one occasion, had freed the Papal States from dependence upon the French power in Italy, and in 1506 had laid the foundation stone of the new St. Peter's. It was he, too, who, in order to raise funds for the new fabric, commenced that highly questionable campaign in the granting of Indulgences, which was to fire the train of revolt in Germany. Leo X., a mild and generous person and an astute politician, pursued the same unfortunate course, and thereby precipitated the inevitable catastrophe. On June 15, 1520, after a long and careful examination of his whole case, Luther was excommunicated and forty-one Lutheran theses were condemned. Such things had often happened before; there was so far nothing in the event to make it unique or even sensational. Henry VIII. in England came forward stoutly as the champion of orthodoxy against Luther's impious attack on the Sacraments. But the genuine reforming ideals of Hadrian VI., the son of a ship's carpenter of Utrecht, were cut short by his early death; and this simple, spiritually minded Pope was no match for the intriguing cardinals of the Papal Court. The reign of the weak and irresolute Clement VII., a cousin of Leo X., was to witness the final disaster. The fiery zeal of Luther had set the Germanies ablaze. In 1527 a half-starved and maddened imperial army, composed largely of Lutherans, sacked Rome with a savage thoroughness unexceeded by the troops of Genseric or Robert Guiscard. By the Act of Royal Supremacy in November, 1534, England severed her spiritual

allegiance to the Papal office. Nemesis had come with a vengeance. The tottering equilibrium of the medieval polity was destroyed; and still the Augean stables of the Curia remained uncleansed.

Into the involved political history of the sixteenth-century Papacy we cannot here enter. The subject defies compression, and must be followed in the leisurely though fascinating pages of a Pastor or a Creighton. With the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529, Spain becomes the dominating power in Europe, and the reign of Philip II. shows her at the summit of her wealth and prosperity. It was Richelieu's nationalist policy which really cemented the schisms and divisions of the previous century; it was he who, by supporting Catholicism at home and Protestantism abroad, finally crippled the Spanish power and gave to France the pre-eminence of the *grand siècle*. The Treaty of Westphalia may be said to mark the real end of the Middle Ages.

For the Papacy the year 1534 was a turning-point, the nadir of its humiliation. The complete disruption of the Church seemed inevitable, yet the situation was to be tardily saved and mighty reforming forces were to regenerate the scarred fabric of Catholic Christendom. The twenty-five years covered by the pontificates of Paul III. and Paul IV.—the latter was in his eightieth year at the time of his election—mark the real turn of the tide. The long-delayed General Council met at Trent in 1545, and was primarily important from the disciplinary rather than from the doctrinal point of view. But it was from Spain that the real driving-force of reform emanated. Some years before Luther's revolt in Germany the Spanish Church

had woken to new spiritual energy under the wise directing influence of Cardinal Ximenes; the great Complutensian Bible in four languages—a triumph both of scholarship and of typographical technique—had come from the press in 1514, produced under his direction and at his expense. In 1540 a Spanish gentleman, Ignatius of Loyola, received from Pope Paul III. the confirmation of his new Order, the Society of Jesus—that weapon of steel which, during the sixteenth century, was to come near to restoring the whole of Europe to the old faith; which was, as has been well said, to reform the Church by compelling the Papacy to realize its own ideals. The Jesuits were to the sixteenth century what the Friars had been to the thirteenth. They took Christianity to Japan and the Indies, they countered the somewhat corybantic preachings of reformers by evolving the most elaborate educational system that Europe had yet known; and if some, like Parsons, were swept by excess of zeal into discreditable political intrigue, the great majority—men like Campion and Peter Canisius—laboured only for the faith which they professed, and cared nothing for the things of this world.

The Jesuits played a surprisingly prominent part at the Council of Trent, whose final session was concluded in 1564. With the accession to the Papal throne of Pius V., a Dominican Friar, the Catholic restoration entered upon its most vigorous phase. St. Pius V. (1566-1572), Gregory XIII. (1572-1585), and Sixtus V. (1585-1590) are pre-eminently the Popes of the counter-reformation; and the latter was one of the most remarkable Pontiffs in history. By negotiating an alliance between Spain and the Venetians, Pius made

possible the long-desired crusade against the Turk, and on October 7, 1571, the European navies routed the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. The revised calendar, introduced by Gregory XIII. in 1582, corrected the accumulated error of the Julian calendar by dropping ten days from the month of October, 1582, and provided against future error by regulating the bissextile years. Countries of Catholic allegiance adopted the new Gregorian system at once, but in Protestant kingdoms the reform was, coming from such a source, far from welcome. St. Bartholomew and the *Regnans in Excelsis*, by which Pius had excommunicated Elizabeth, were fresh in everybody's minds. The Pope, it seemed, having failed to frighten people by his threats of eternal damnation, was now trying to accelerate their passage to the lower regions by cutting ten days out of their temporal lives. Consequently it was not until 1700 that Leibnitz finally persuaded the Protestant States of Germany to adopt the new reckoning; whilst England did not come into line until 1752.

Sixtus V., we have said, was one of the most remarkable Pontiffs in history. Himself a practical man with a real genius for administration, he had little confidence in or respect for his official ally, Philip II. The defeat of the Armada caused him no surprise, and he is reported once to have declared that Henry of Navarre and Elizabeth of England were the only European sovereigns for whom he had any real admiration. He radically reorganized the Roman Congregations and fixed the administrative system of the Curia on the lines that it has kept to this day. He greatly enlarged the Vatican library and formed a gigantic scheme for the conquest of the Turk and the

recapture of Egypt and Palestine. By his vigorous measures against brigandage he made the Papal States the safest of any in Europe. He put in hand the construction of a new aqueduct for the supply of water to Rome, and undertook a great scheme of drainage in the Pontine marshes. Two things, he observed on one occasion, are necessary to good government—severity and a great deal of money. The epigram gives us the political history of the sixteenth century in a nutshell.

It has been well said that, if we would understand Roman Catholicism as an organization between 1520 and 1700, we must study the Council of Trent; if we would understand it as a religion, we must study the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. The former gives us the principles upon which the Catholic restoration was so successfully conducted; the latter gives us the spirit which animated the whole movement. But by the end of the sixteenth century the first great fires of zeal were already beginning to flicker. Spain had held both Naples and Milan since 1559; the fall of La Rochelle in 1628 was a crushing disaster for the French Huguenots; and with the rise to power of Richelieu, France "arose to help the heretics harry the House of Hapsburg." Richelieu's anti-imperial policy throughout the Thirty Years' War was to support Catholicism at home and Protestantism abroad; and Urban VIII., who seems to have recognized that the main issue was political rather than religious, was content to support the French Cardinal, and is even believed to have rejoiced at the victories of the Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus. Indirectly the Thirty Years' War contributed to increasing the temporal power of the

Papacy; directly it led to the steady decline of the Spanish power and to the French ascendancy of the two great Bourbon Kings. But it was French policy, and Papal support of it, which may be said to have frustrated the full completeness of the Catholic restoration. For good or ill, the old European polity of the Middle Ages had finally crumbled. In effect the Treaty of Westphalia dissolved the Empire and severely limited the political power of the Papacy; the last interdict, launched against Venice in 1605, was a complete failure; the Bull of Deposition was a thing of the past.

From the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 the history of the Papacy is one of steady decline, both temporal and spiritual. It was the age of the Great Powers, each pursuing a nationalist policy towards the Church; and it was the age of the new nationalism. Gibbon, confronted by Notre-Dame Cathedral, "darted a contemptuous glance at the stately monuments of superstition." Men like Bossuet and Fénelon were exceptional in their zeal and piety; more representative, perhaps, of the eighteenth-century French hierarchy was Cardinal de Polignac, Archbishop of Auch, who never set foot in his diocese for fifteen years. "A mere priest," observed the witty Champfort, "must believe a little, or he will be looked upon as a hypocrite; but must not be too sincere, or people will call him intolerant. A Vicar-General may permit himself a smile whenever religion is attacked; a Bishop may laugh; and a Cardinal may give his cordial assent." A sort of cultured indifferentism became the order of the day, and Louis XVI., after listening to a sermon

by a well-known preacher, observed that "if the Abbé had only said a little about Christianity, there is no subject that he would have left untouched." As regards the corresponding state of affairs in Italy, we shall search many history books for a better summary than Stendhal's. He is describing the joy and excitement caused by the arrival of Napoleon's troops in Milan: "So excessive and so general was the frolic that I cannot possibly convey an idea of it, unless it be by the following profoundly historical reflection: the nation had been bored for a century!"

In the administrative system of the Roman Curia there was, however, no falling back to the old corruptions of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Innocent XII. put a final stop to nepotism, and wise Pontiffs like Innocent XI. and Benedict XIV. are in the tradition of the great reforming Popes. But a much more serious matter was the temporal misgovernment of the Papal States. The Papacy was still burdened with debt, and Clement XII. (1734-1740) issued paper money and started a Government lottery; Clement XIII. made a forced loan, and by 1785 the taxes had been "farmed" for years in advance. When the French Revolution broke out, the Papal States were on the verge of bankruptcy.

Finally, in this period prior to the Revolution we have to note the various nationalist movements, which may be said to have culminated in the suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV. in 1773. In many respects—that it was inspired and precipitated by a French king, that it was confirmed by a Pope—this famous event invites comparison with the suppression, nearly five centuries earlier, of the Knights Templars.

Jealousy of the enormous wealth of the Society and of their worldwide influence, particularly in South America, were determining factors in the suppression. A few years later came the wholesale spoliations and seizures of Church property which accompanied the Revolution. In 1796, Napoleon triumphed in Italy, and in the following year, by the Peace of Tolentino, Pius VI. was forced to surrender Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna. In consideration for his personal safety, the Pope was conducted to Valence in 1798; eighteen months later he died in exile. "It is not strange," says Macaulay, "that in the year 1799 even sagacious observers should have thought that, at length, the hour of the Church of Rome had come."

And yet the year 1800 may fitly be regarded as inaugurating that new era of Catholic restoration which is still proceeding in our own time. Napoleon, who in 1797 had declared his intention of abolishing the Papacy, swiftly came to realize that society cannot exist without morals, nor morals without religion. "I regard religion," he declared in 1806, "not as the mystery of the Incarnation, but as the secret of the social order." His endeavour was to recreate the Papacy as a sort of French chaplaincy; the Pope would receive a salary from the Government, like any other State official, and the constitution of the Church would be defined by the Four Articles of 1682, the old bulwarks of Gallicanism. But when disaster came to the Emperor, Pius VII. was able to return to Rome after an absence of five years. He made his final entry into the city amid tremendous enthusiasm, on the day before Waterloo. So ended a brief but profoundly significant chapter in Papal history. Pius VII. offered

a refuge in Rome to members of Napoleon's family, and concerned himself to secure the kindly treatment of the captive Emperor. The Jesuits were reconstituted in 1814, and at the Congress of Vienna the Papal States were restored to the Church. Pius died in 1823, after one of the most romantic careers in all history.

The reign of Pius IX. (1846-1878), the longest of any in Papal history, may be said to end one chapter and to begin another. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War the French troops were withdrawn from Rome, and in September, 1870, the army of Victor Emmanuel entered the city. Within a few weeks a general plebiscite was instituted to decide upon the desirability of annexing the Papal States to the Italian kingdom. The nineteenth century had witnessed little amelioration in the government of the Papal States; taxation had been exorbitant, and the administration was, perhaps, rather incompetent than corrupt. At any rate, the voting showed an overwhelming majority in favour of annexation, and thus, after an existence of over eleven hundred years, the temporal power of the Papacy came to an end. Pius refused with firm dignity to make terms with the Italian Sovereign; since that day no Pope has left the Vatican buildings.

In 1848, Pius had been compelled to flee from Rome, but on his return in 1850 the city was thronged with pilgrims as never before. Spiritual restoration was advancing with steadily increasing momentum. In 1850 the hierarchy was re-established in England, in 1853 in Holland, and in 1878 in Scotland. In 1864 the famous "Syllabus of Errors" condemned eighty propositions bearing on pantheism, socialism, com-

munism; and other contemporary theories. Finally, in 1870, the doctrine of Papal infallibility received explicit definition at the Vatican Council. With this, the largest assembly of bishops ever held in Church history, we will bring these historical notes to a conclusion.

CHAPTER VI

THE PAPACY TO-DAY

THE Italian army entered Rome on September 15, 1870, and Rome, for centuries the political capital of the Papal States, thus became the capital city of the new Italian kingdom. We are probably too near in time to this event to realize its full significance; for history is like a cinematograph entertainment—the best seats are at the back. It may seem paradoxical to say that we can understand the past better than we can understand the present; but it is certain that the passage of time can alone set events in their true perspective and make possible a balanced appreciation of larger issues. The fall of Rome in 1870 inaugurated a new era in the history of the Papacy; that much is clear. For with the absorption of the States of the Church into a united Italian kingdom the territorial independence of the Papacy came to an end; the *imperium* of the Pope has become a purely spiritual one, but whereâs, in the past, the continuance of that *imperium* was guaranteed by his temporal sovereignty over the States of the Church, it is now guaranteed—in theory, at any rate—only by such concessions as the Italian Government may see fit to grant.

The first attempt to grapple with this new problem was the famous Law of Guarantees which was promulgated from the Quirinal on May 15, 1871. Within forty-eight hours Pius IX. formally declared his inability to accept these guarantees or to recognize

in the new law a satisfactory solution of the question. Feelings ran high at the time, and the Pope's attitude was loudly denounced as capricious and obscurantist. Yet his wisdom in repudiating the Law of Guarantees has been amply manifested by subsequent events: those who constantly tell us that the Papacy is largely identified with Italian interests and Italian policy tend, perhaps, to forget that the very existence to-day of the Roman question is ample demonstration to the contrary. The non-acceptance of the Law of Guarantees is a constant witness to the supra-national character of the Papal office. Not that the Law of Guarantees was in any real sense dictated by anti-clerical or jingoist sentiment or, indeed, by feelings other than of profound respect for the Papacy; it was a genuine and high-minded attempt to find a basis of agreement to a problem which is all the more complicated because both parties to the dispute are so unquestionably justified in their claims. In a united Italian kingdom it is naturally intolerable that the capital city should itself exist as a sort of extra-national oasis; to the churchman it is naturally intolerable that the Pope, the spiritual sovereign of 300,000,000 souls, should own the very roof over his head only as a concession from a secular Government, upon whose territory he is allowed to live. The protest of Pius IX. against the Law of Guarantees has been renewed again and again by his successors. In the encyclical *ubi arcano*, dated December 23, 1922, Pius XI. put the Papal position with such conciseness and clearness that we may, perhaps, be forgiven a quotation:

"The divine nature and origin of our power, as well as the sacred right of the community of the

faithful spread throughout the world, demand that this sacred power should be independent of all human authority, and should not be subjected to human ordinances. . . . We, then, heir and depositary of the thought as of the duties of our predecessors, provided (as they were) with the sole competent authority in this most grave matter, do hereby renew the protests which our predecessors raised for the defence of the rights and the dignity of the Apostolic See. We do this, not to satisfy a vain ambition for terrestrial power . . . but in pursuance of our sacrosanct charge and in the knowledge that we must render to the divine Judge a strict account of our actions."

In a word, the nature of the Papal office is such that no Pope can regard himself as the subject of any secular government; to do so would be to imperil that spiritual mission which is its purpose and its essence. On the other hand, that same secular government, whilst willing to accord full sovereign honours to the Papacy, cannot recognize its complete independence nor regard the Eternal City as other than the capital city of Italy. No solution has yet been found. Many suggestions have been made since 1870 for the actual transference to some other place of the seat of Papal authority. A return to Avignon has been proposed; Sardinia, Corsica, Corfu, and the Balearics have been suggested. About the end of the nineteenth century an American proposal was put forward for the establishment of the Papal Curia in Louisiana; other enthusiasts have talked of buying the Azores or the Canaries for the Papacy. But nothing has come or can come of these schemes. By its very definition the Church is Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman. The

permanent departure of the Papacy from Rome is a thing unthinkable. And so the Popes, from Pius IX. to Pius XI. in our own time, have maintained their silent protest against the Law of Guarantees, and have taken upon themselves the burden of a voluntary imprisonment upon the Vatican Hill.

It has been said that the Roman question will settle itself with the passage of time, and the same critic once observed that Italy's greatest statesman will be he who can solve the Roman question. On these matters the present writer is wholly unqualified to comment. But it is worth noting that of recent years the sharp edge of the whole matter seems to have been considerably worn down. When Zola went to Rome, he was apparently prepared to find that the Roman question was the constant preoccupation of statesmen, and that a demeanour of silent hostility was everywhere preserved between the respective protagonists in the great matter. He expected to find Rome sharply divided into two rival camps—the Vatican and the Quirinal; and he drew up a sort of *questionnaire*, which he intended to put to an Italian friend. One of his first concerns was to ask what the Roman aristocracy thought of the Roman question.

"My dear sir," replied the other, "I assure you that the Roman aristocracy don't care a brass farthing about it!"

The present position is, of course, a deadlock. But everybody realizes that it is a deadlock, and, thanks to the tact and sympathy both of the Curia and the Government, there is no sort of permanent friction. As far as official and formal pronouncements are concerned, and as far as affects the real points at issue,

there has been no change since 1870, but a workable *modus vivendi* has been arrived at, and it would seem that fuller understanding may well lead, in course of time, to lasting adjustment of this most difficult problem.

We have no space here to speak of the achievements or personal characteristics of the four Popes since the death of Pius IX. in 1878—of Leo XIII., one of the greatest ecclesiastical statesmen in all history; of Pius X., that great saint who died broken-hearted on the day that the German army entered Brussels; of Benedict XV., who presided over the Church during the terrible war years; of Pius XI., now reigning, a renowned Alpine climber in earlier days, a scholar of European reputation, ex-librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan and afterwards of the Vatican Library. We may not yet presume to pass the verdict of history upon their reigns, though we may read of their lives in many biographies. Many are the anecdotes that are related of Pius X. He was one who liked the company of his fellow-men, and when he announced that in future the Pope would not, as hitherto, take his meals alone, there was considerable consternation amongst the Cardinals. To their remonstrances against this innovation, Pius, quite unperturbed, responded: "And did St. Peter always feed alone?" They replied with a dubious negative. "And the Renaissance Popes?" asked Pius. "Surely their meals were not solitary!" It was finally elicited that the tradition by which the Pope took his meals in solitude went back to Urban VIII. "Very well," remarked Pius X., "our glorious predecessor, Urban VIII., decided to eat alone, as he had a right to do.

In virtue of the same right, we decide the contrary!" That was at the beginning of his reign. At the end of it came the cataclysm of the Great War. After the murder at Serajevo, the Emperor Francis Joseph asked for the Papal blessing upon the "punitive expedition" against Serbia. The refusal was prompt and to the point. "I bless peace," answered Pius, "not war." Within a month he was dead—as some said, of a broken heart.

Materials are not yet available which would enable one to speak with any finality about the Papal policy during the war years. In Allied countries it was denounced as pro-German, in Germany and Austria as pro-Ally. Benedict XV. was referred to by Ludendorff as a French Pope, and by Clemenceau as a German Pope. Chiefly, the Papacy concerned itself with works of charity, arranging for the exchange of prisoners unfit for further military service, and for the provision of hospitals and the like. Benedict's peace proposals, put forward in August, 1917, were quite fruitless, and his question, "Must the civilized world be reduced to a graveyard?" fell upon deaf ears; we were getting ready for Passchendaele. In the same year was completed the codification of the Canon Law, undertaken by the direction of Pius X. in 1904—"the most astounding legal *tour de force* ever accomplished."

Here our story comes to its natural close.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE following are some of the larger standard works on the history of the Papacy, taken together, they cover almost the whole period:

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One of the best short summaries of Papal history is provided by the article "Papacy" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Another useful compendium is A. E. McKilliam's *A Chronicle of the Popes from St. Peter*

to Pius X. (London, 1912). In the standard encyclopædias will be found a great number of articles dealing with the biographies of individual Popes. For a condensed statement on the doctrinal aspect of the matter the article "Pope" in the *Catholic Encyclopædia* may be recommended. The article on "Papal Arbitration" is also of particular interest.

It is, however, impossible to study the history of the Papacy in isolation from ecclesiastical history in general. Duchesne's *Early History of the Christian Church* is indispensable for the first five centuries. An admirable and most stimulating survey of the early medieval period is F. J. Foakes-Jackson's *Outline of the History of Christianity, 597-1304*. Dr. Leighton Pullan's *Religion since the Reformation* contains two valuable chapters which bear upon our subject.

In most of the works referred to above the reader will find systematic and, in some cases, exhaustive bibliographies. There is, of course, an enormous mass of controversial literature on the subject. With this we need not here deal. We will conclude by calling attention to one or two special studies which are of particular interest and value.

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